EARLY MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF KASHMIR

[WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LOHARAS]

A. D. 1003—1171

KRISHNA MOHAN

M.A., Ph.D. (London)

with a foreword by

A. L. BASHAM

MEHARCHAND LACHHMANDAS PUBLICATIONS

NEW DELHI

DS
485
K2
K321
1981

Published by :

MEHARCHAND LACHHMANDAS PUBLICATIONS
4225-A, 1 Ansari Road, Darayaganj
New Delhi - 110 002
(India)

© The Author

FIRST EDITION

1981

Printed by :

SHRI BHARAT BHARATI PRIVATE LIMITED,
1 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi.

Dedicated to my parents who
were always a source of
inspiration at every step
of my educational
endeavours.

FOREWORD

The historiography of early Kashmir differs radically from that of any other area of India in that among the original sources for the period there survives a detailed chronicle, the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa. If such documents existed in other parts of India, they have long since vanished, and they have not been quoted or mentioned by other writers.

Kalhaṇa's work displays both the merits and the defects of the typical chronicler all over the ancient and medieval world. For periods well before his own day he relied on earlier documents, which transmitted a comparatively small amount of reliable data among much legendary material which is of little use to the historian. When, however, he comes down to a period nearer his own times he is on firmer ground, for, being the son of a minister of the crown, he had access to 'inside information', and much of his treatment of this period must be based on the oral testimony of his father and other politicians of the older generation, as well as on personal recollections. Indeed some of his descriptions give the impression of eye-witness accounts.

This precious source, unique in the history of Hindu India, is not the only one from the period. Kashmir under the Loharas was a great centre of Sanskrit culture, and numerous writers, chief of whom was the versatile Kṣemendra, left literature of many types, ranging from philosophy to pornography. Unlike most other parts of India, however, Kashmir has few inscriptions from the early period, but their absence is more than compensated for by the rich literary heritage of the region.

The period of the Loharas was one of endemic tension between the *ḍāmaras* and the kings of the Valley of Kashmir, when revolts were frequent and the rulers, many of whom were dissolute and others of whom were tyrannical, could often scarcely preserve law and order in their own capital. Yet it was a period of vigorous intellectual life, when all the arts flourished, fine temples were built, and great literature was composed.

The work of Dr. Krishna Mohan, which I have the privilege of introducing, forms an important contribution to the study of the history of pre-Muslim Kashmir. She has carefully analysed the historical data

in her abundant sources, and has produced a study which is more comprehensive and thorough than any work on the subject hitherto published. Her work brings the period vividly to light and is important not only for the history of Kashmir, but for that of the whole of India at the time. I commend it to all students of the period, and indeed to all intelligent readers who know and love the beautiful valley and its surrounding mountains, which, for all their remoteness, have contributed so much to the culture of the Sub-continent.

—A. L. Basham

PREFACE

This work represents my thesis which was approved by the University of London in 1958 for the degree of Ph.D. with a report from the distinguished Board of Examiners that it was suitable for publication as submitted. It could not be sent to the press for so long on account of pressure of offlcial duties as Principal of a college. The delay has, however, been utilized to bring it up-to-date as far as possible.

The work is an attempt at reconstruction of the early medival social history of Kashmir with special reference to the Loharas (A. D. 1003-1171). The advent of the Loharas on the scene of Kashmir history marks a big dynastic change when the throne was bequeathed in an undisputed succession by Queen Diddā in A. D. 1003 to Saṁgrāmarāja, the son of her brother Udayarāja of Lohara, a locality in the valley now called Loharin belonging to the territory of Parṇotsa (modern Poonch).

It is shown that despite geographical isolation this hill kingdom held a unique position among the adjoining hill territories and maintained friendly relations with distant parts of India.

Kingship in Kashmir, the king's relations with the ministers, the criteria for their appointment to various portfolios, bureaucracy and the local government form an interesting field of study. These together with the administration of army, revenue and justice have been fully discussed and analysed keeping in view the theories of government as enunciated by the Indian law-givers, the local authors and the working of the institutions in actual practice.

An attempt has been made to determine whether the social system in Kashmir may in any sense be termed as feudal. The

position of the Ḍāmaras—the landed aristocracy and other elements of the system have been fully described and put forth before the readers in a proper perspective. The various sections of society, the position of women, the system of education and the literary developments, food and dress give a clear insight into the early medieval Kashmir society. It is also shown that Buddhism, Tantricism. Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and other minor sects flourished in perfect toleration.

Much valuable material is given in the five appendices containing an analysis of Kalhaṇa' s impartiality while narrating the history of Kashmir in his famous *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the position that he held in the state, the rare element of historiography in this remote part of India, the Khaśas—the race to which the Loharas belonged, and the Ḍamaras or the landed aristocracy.

During the preparation of this work it has been my good fortune to have worked under the guidance of Professor A. L. Basham now in USA at the University of New Mexico, in whom we find a unique combination of a scholar of the most exacting standards and firm convictions and a teacher most gentle and understanding. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my deep sense of respect and gratitude for his kind sympathy, steady encouragement and valuable suggestions throughout the course of my studies. I am further indebted to him for writing a foreword for this book.

I must express my gratitude to Professor C. H. Philips (then Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies), for helping me in many ways during my studies. My thanks are due to Dr. P. Hardy for having very readily given much of his valuable time in translating with me the Persian manuscripts that I have utilized. I owe acknowledgments to Professor J. D. M. Derrett, Professor K. A. Ballhatchet, the late Mr. C. A. Rylands and Professor R. A. Oliver, who helped me with their valuable suggestions in their respective fields. For illustrations, I am indebted to Mr. Douglas Barrett, formerly of the Oriental

Antiquities Department of the British Museum. Professor A. K. Narain, Benaras Hindu University and Professor R. S. Sharma, University of Delhi gave much friendly guidance to me during their stay in London. To Mr. A. C. Bhatia (former news editor of *The Tribune*, Chandigarh), I am indebted for valuable suggestions. I owe my gratitude to Professor Ved Kumari Ghai, University of Jammu and her husband Dr. Ram Pratap for their unstinted help. My thanks are due to my sister, Mrs. Sushila Bakshi, her husband. Lt. Gen. Z. C. Bakshi, PVSM, MVC, VrC, VSM, my nephew, Mr. Rajeev Bakshi and my niece, Neelam Mohan who assisted me in many ways during the course of publication of the book.

Jammu. —Krishna Mohan

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	... ...	1
Chapter one :	GENERAL GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICAL HISTORY	13
Chapter two :	KINGSHIP, MINISTERS AND ADMINISTRATION	72
Chapter three :	ARMY, REVENUE AND JUSTICE	119
Chapter four :	FEUDALISM	166
Chapter five :	SOCIETY	211
Chapter six :	RELIGION	262
Chapter seven :	CONCLUSION	300
Appendix I :	KALHAṆA AND HIS CHRONICLE	306
Appendix II :	KALHAṆA'S IMPARTIALITY	314
Appendix III :	HISTORIOGRAPHY IN KASHMIR	319
Appendix IV :	THE KHAŚAS	330
Appendix V :	THE ḌĀMARAS	338
BIBLIOGRAPHY	... ...	339
INDEX	... ...	353
ERRATA ET ADDENDA	... ...	383

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

PLATES :

I. Śiva and Pārvati from Gandhāra
II. (a) Pārvatī from Gandhāra
(b) Viṣṇu Image from Avantipur
III. (a) Buddha's Mother (tenth century)
(b) Lakṣmī from Brār
IV. Memorial Stone Baramula, (Varāhamūla)
V. Terracota Triles, Harwan
VI. Śrī Cakra
VII. Bāṇa Liṅga

MAPS :

I. J & K with ancient place names
II. J & K with adjacent hill territories

ABBREVIATIONS

AitBr.	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
Amara.	Amarakośa
Ant. Chamba.	Antiquities of Chamba
Arch. Survey.	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
Arthaśāstra.	Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra
As. Res.	Asiatic Researches
Bernier, F., Travels	Travels in the Mogul Empire
Bhāgavata.	Bhāgavata Purāṇa
Bh. Or. Res. Inst. or BORI	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Bib. Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica
Bk.	Book
Bodhisattva.	Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā
Bṛhas.	Bṛhaspati Smṛti
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies
BSS	Bombay Sanskrit Series
CAGI	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India
Cāru.	Cārucaryāśataka
Ch.	Chapter
CHI	Cultural Heritage of India
ChUp.	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
CMI	Coins of Medieval India
CROL	Commonwealth Relations Office Library
DHNI	Dynastic History of Northern India
EHCK	Early History and Culture of Kashmir
Ency. of Rel. & Ethics	Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica

ERAK	Eminent Rulers of Ancient Kashmir
Essay.	Wilson's Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir
Festgabe	Festgabe Gurupūjākaumudī
Firishta	Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta
Gardīzī	Zainul-Akhbar ed. M. Nazim
Gaut. or Gautama.	Gautama Smṛti
HANSM or Handbook	Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Section of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar
Hist. of Dh.Sh. or HDhŚ	History of Dharma Śāstra
HMHI	History of Medieval Hindu India
HI	History of India as Told by Its Own Historians
HPHS	History of the Punjab Hill States
HPT	Hindu Political Theories
HSS	Haridas Sanskrit Series
IF	Indian Feudalism
IHC	Indian History Congress
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
Imp. Gaz.	Imperial Gazetteer of India
Ind. Alt.	Indian Alterthumskunde
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary
Intro.	Introduction
IS	Indische Studien
JA	Journal Asiatique
Jaina Rājat., or Śrīvara	Jaina Rājataraṅgiṇī of Śrīvara
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bnegal
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JBRS	Journal of the Bihar Research Society
J.D. of Letters.	Journal of the Department of Letters
JNS	Journal of the the Numismatic Society
Jonrāja. or Jona Rājat.	Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī of Jonarāja
JPHS	Journal of the Panjab Historical Society

JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Jummoo.	A Geographical Account of Jummoo and Kashmir Territories
Kām.	Kâmandakīya Nītisāra
Kapphiṇā.	Kapphiṇābhyudaya
Kāt. or Kātyāyana	Kātyāyana Smṛti
Kavi.	Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa
KM	Kāvyamālā Series
KSS	Kathāsaritsāgara
KSTS	Kashmir Series of Texts & Studies
Kuṭṭ. or Kuṭṭanī.	Kuṭṭanīmatam Kāvyam
Life of H.T.	Life of Hiuen Tsang
Loka.	Lokaprakāśa
Manu.	Manu Smṛti
MAS or Memoirs of ASI	Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India
MASK	Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of Kashmir
Mastya.	Matsyapurāṇa
MBh.	Mahābhārata
MS	Manuscript
Moorcroft, Travels	Travels in Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir etc.
Nār. or Nārada.	Nārada Smṛti
N.Mālā	Narma Mālā
Nīlamata.	Nīlamata Purāṇa
Nītivākya.	Nītivākyāmṛta
NS	New Series
Parā. T.	Parā Triṁśikā
PHK	Political History of Kashmir
Parāś. Mādh.	Parāśara Mādhavīya
P. Sāra.	Paramārthasāra
PW	Petersberg Wörterbuch
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythical Society
Rājat.	Rājataraṅgiṇī
Rām. or Rāmā.	Rāmāyaṇa

Report.	Bühler's Delaited Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SBH	Sacred Books of the Hindus
Sam. Māt. or S. Māta.	Samayamātṛkā
ŚatPa.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
Sec.	Section
SII or South. Ind. Ins.	South Indian Inscriptions
SMGh.	Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī
Srīkaṇṭha	Śrīkaṇṭhacarita
SIHC	Studies in Indian History & Culture
Stein, Rājat.	Stein's translation of Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī
Śukra.	Śukranītisāra
Suvṛtta.	Suvṛttatilaka
Tab. Ak.	Tabquat-i-Akbarī
TaiBr.	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
Utbi.	Kitābu'l-Yāmini of Al Utbi
Valley. or the Valley	The Valley of Kashmir by Lawrence
Vas. or Vasiṣ.	Vasiṣṭha Smṛti
VSMRS	Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems
Vikramāṅka.	Vikramāṅkadevacarita
VS.	Vikram Saṁvat
Viṣṇu.	Viṣṇu Smṛti
V. Cintāmaṇi or Cintāmaṇi	Vyavahāra Cintāmaṇi
Watters, Travels	On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India
Yājña.	Yajñavalkyasmṛti
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

INTRODUCTION

The main object of this work, which was accepted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of London, is the study of the social history of Kashmir during the rule of Lohara kings (A. D. 1003-1171). The advent of the Loharas marks an important phase in the history of early medieval Hindu Kashmir, at a time when rest of Northern India was passing through a great upheavel at the hands of Mahmūd of Ghaznī. In Kashmir, except for the reference to the help sent by King Saṁgrāmarāja (A. D. 1003-28) to the Śāhis of Kabul and the two unsuccessful attempts of Mahmūd to enter the valley, there is no record of any conquest by this invader.

The Loharas produced a number of able rulers who were not great conquerors like Kārkoṭa King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (*c.* A. D. 724/25-61) but maintained very good relations with Jālandhara (Trigarta), Rājapurī (Rajouri), Campā (Chamba), Kāṣṭavāṭa (Kishtwar), Uraśā (Hazara), the Śāhis of Kabul and even the distant South.

From the accession of the Lohara dynasty in A.D. 1003, the Ḍāmaras (the landed aristocracy) attained such military power and political influence as to become an unending danger to the royal authority. King Harṣa's attempt to curb them cost him his throne and life. The succeeding reigns, down to the time of Kalhaṇa, provide an important and almost continuous record of struggle between the central authority and the Ḍāmaras, or between the various sections of the Ḍāmaras themselves. Realizing their importance, Jayasiṁha, the last great king of the second Lohara dynasty, tried to win them over by cunning and shrewd diplomacy.

This period is the richest with regard to literary development. Kalhaṇa, the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* or 'River of Kings', the polymath Kṣemendra, the great poets Bilhaṇa, Somadeva, Maṅkha and Abhinavagupta, all flourished during the rule of the Lohara kings and have given us rich literature in

different branches—history, social satire, erotics, religion, fiction and folk-tales.

It was during this period that Śaivism, with its particular philosophy of idealistic monism known as *trika*, reached its highest development and produced teachers and writers of high calibre. Abhinavaguptācārya, the much revered Kashmirian philosopher and sage, was a contemporary of King Ananta of Kashmir (A. D. 1028-63).

Kashmir is the only region in the whole of India which has produced a historian of high renown. Kalhaṇa, the poet historian, wrote in the time of King Jayasiṁha of the second Lohara dynasty, in A. D. 1149-50. His history of Kashmir is by far the best of its kind though this land had from fairly early times a tradition of historical writing.

First mention of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, after the continuation, of course, by the later authors, was made during the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. It is mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* that people approached the emperor with a history of Kashmir written by Kalhaṇa *paṇḍita*. It was then translated into Persian and in A. D. 1664, the chronicle, of which Bernier possessed a copy, was a Persian compilation.

In A. D. 1805 Colebrooke secured in Calcutta an incomplete copy of the original version. In A.D. 1823, Moorcroft, on his visit to Kashmir, got a Devanāgarī transcript prepared from a Śāradā manuscript. Wilson's researches in this field in A. D. 1825 led to his famous Essay published in the Asiatic Researches. But as he did not have the full text, he could not do much. In A.D. 1835, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal took up the work of editing the text. In A.D. 1840, A. Troyer of Calcutta Sanskrit College began publication of its new edition which was not carried beyond the first six books. In A.D. 1852, he completed a French translation which, though containing valuable information on many points concerning history, was full of errors.

In A.D. 1846, A. Cunningham paid an official visit to the Valley and this helped him to elucidate series of questions relating to chronology and numismatics. Prof. Lassen's analysis

published in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* failed to extend materially the store of trustworthy historical data. J. C. Dutt's English translation of the *Rājatarṅgiṇī* appeared at Calcutta between 1879-87 under the title "Kings of Kāshmīra", but this too was defective in many respects owing to the faulty text of the Calcutta edition of 1835.

Prof. Bühler's tour of Kashmir in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in A.D. 1875, his *Report* and the most valuable suggestions revived European interest in this field. In A.D. 1888, Stein paid his first visit to the Valley, and by A.D. 1889 he secured several manuscripts and took up the great task of preparing his edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which was published in A.D. 1892. Stein did not leave his efforts at that, and brought forth a translation with introduction, comments and various appendices, making this valuable material available for historical and antiquarian study. This work proved valuable not only for the records of Kashmir's past but also for the history of India in general.

In A.D. 1892, Durga Prasad also completed his edition which was much appreciated by Stein. In A.D. 1935, a literal translation of the text was made by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit. His appendices also throw valuable light in many respects.

Indological studies in the past had concentrated mainly on religion and political history. Recently, attention has been drawn towards sociological studies also. Volumes IV and V of the lengthy and detailed *History and Culture of the Indian People* cover the period under consideration but in writing the social history the authors make only a passing reference to Kashmir, the main source utilized being the *Rājtaraṅgiṇī*.

The accounts of various travellers have mainly described the hills, lakes, snows and shades of Kashmir but hardly has any one narrated its history or told the story of what the Valley has given to the world.[1] Dr. Sufi in his *Kashīr* has tried to present an up-to-date record of the history of Kashmir, but has confined his work to the more fully documented Muslim period, giving a bare sketch of Hindu history in a single chapter.

[1] Sufi, G. M. D., *Kashīr*, vol. I, perface, p. i.

Hema Chandra Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*[1] is a very good account, but, as the title of the book suggests, the aim of his work was to reconstruct the history of Northern India between *c.* A.D. 916 and 1196, from the dynastic point of view only. The third volume, intended to deal with administrative, social, religious and literary history, monuments and coins etc., has not appeared.

Beni Prasad in his *State in Ancient India* has given only a short sketch of the state order in Kashmir.

U. N. Ghoshal has published an analysis of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarańgiṇī*, throwing light on the historian and his attitude towards various sections of Kashmir society in general.

Books on early history and culture of Kashmir by S. C. Ray, S. C. Banerji, Dr. K. S. Saxena, Dr. M. L. Kapur and all other recent works connected with the period under study and several short articles on the aspects of early Kashmir have been duly considered.

There is still much need for a work in this field based not only on the *Rājatarańgiṇī*, but also on other local sources which provide a rich field for historical research and help us in judging the authenticity of Kalhaṇa's work.

This work does not, however, claim to be an exhaustive study of every aspect of life and society in medieval Kashmir under the Lohara dynasties; several aspects need further specialized study. For example, all facets of art and architecture have been omitted, the period being considered by Percy Brown as "the last and hitherto hardly known phase of Kashmirian art in the eleventh and twelfth centuries."[2] However, Kalhaṇa's narrative, as we have shown in this work, gives ample record of brisk building activity, specially the construction of lofty temples, *maṭhas* and *vihāras*.

In this work efforts have been directed at providing a thorough study of those aspects of culture which are essential for obtaining an understanding of the age. An attempt has been

[1] In 2 vols., Calcutta, 1931.

[2] Goetz, H , *The Early Woodon Temples of Chamba*; Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist & Hindu Periods)*, pp. 194-95.

made to give an objective survey based on the available authentic sources as a contribution towards the understanding of the social life of Northern India.

SOURCES

For a study of the history, especially the social history and the institutions existing during the period, we can draw upon literary sources not only of the contemporary period but also the earlier.

Of the writers of the period itself by far the most important is Kalhaṇa. Well-versed in the Hindu Dharmaśāstra, Nītiśāstra and Epic lore, he gives us detailed information about the working of the institutions of his time. The greatest value of the material supplied by his chronicle lies in the fact that the author was the son of a minister, Lord of the Marches *(dvārapati)*, during the reign of ill-fated Harṣa of the first Lohara dynasty, and was himself closely connected with court circles. Therefore, whatever he wrote, was not based merely on the political theories that he had read in the text books, but on a thorough knowledge of the practical working of the institutions as they existed. Though for the earlier period Kalhaṇa wrote romance rather than history, we find admirable accuracy and fullness of detail when he approaches his own time.[1] The first six books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* contain only 2645 verses while in the seventh and eighth books, the number of verses is 5181.

The next great author whose writings we have utilised was the Kashmirian polymath, Kṣemendra, who came of a line of ministers and stands in a class by himself among later Sanskrit writers. His comprehensive style, his clarity of expression, his power to use satire to the best advantage and his critical insight into literature have earned for him a place among the masters of Indian literary tradition.[2]

Kṣemendra mentions the need of familiarity with the ways of the world *(lokācāraparijñāna)* and special didactic skill

[1] The question of the trustworthiness of Kalhaṇa's record is considered in Appendix II.

[2] Beni Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 435; Sūryakānta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, intro., p. 1. Cf. Manohar Lal Gauda, *Ācārya Kṣemendra*, intro.

(upadeśaviśeṣokti) among the "hundred pieces of sound advice" to a budding poet in his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*.[1] He himself shows these admirable qualities in no small measure in his didactic poems—the *Deśopadeśa*, the *Narmamālā*, the *Samayamātṛkā*, the *Kalāvilāsa*, the *Darpadalana*, the *Cārucaryāśataka*, and the *Sevyasevakopadeśa*. His satire on the bards and singers, goldsmiths, quacks, astrologers and vendors of medicines and false Tantric *gurus* contained in these works, gives a lucid picture of the then existing social types. In all his works Kṣemendra is true to his maxim : "the true poet like the sun with his rays of poetry reaching every region, reveals in fresh colours the sentiments, feelings and emotions of all beings."[2]

Sūryakānta divides Kṣemendra's works into four parts.[3]

1. Poetical epitomes—*Rāmāyaṇamañjarī*, or *Rāmāyaṇakathāsāra*, *Bhāratamañjarī*, *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, *Daśāvatāracarita*, and *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.
2. Didactic poems — *Kalāvilāsa*, *Samayamātṛkā*, *Cārucaryāśataka*, *Sevyasevakopadeśa*, *Darpadalana*, *Deśopadeśa*, *Narmamālā* and *Caturvargasaṁgraha*.
3. Poetics and Metrics—*Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, *Aucityavicāracarcā* and *Suvṛttatilaka*.
4. Miscellaneous—*Lokaprakāśakośa*, *Nītikalpataru* and *Vyāsāṣṭaka*.

Of the above, the works contained in the first part give us some idea of the condition of the Sanskrit epics in the time of Kṣemendra. The *Daśāvatāracarita* and the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* show the reverence in which Buddhism was held in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Kashmir; otherwise these works are of little value for our purpose. We have chiefly utilized the following texts of Kṣemendra :

The *Samayamātṛkā* was inspired in some degree by the work of Kṣemendra's predecessor, Dāmodaragupta. In this work the hetaera-to-be, Kalāvatī, is introduced by a barber to an old courtesan, who proves an able instructress. In the second canto

[1] *Kavi.*, II. 6-16.

[2] *Ibid.*, 16-23.

[3] Sūryakānta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, p. 16.

the barber gives an amusing and humorous account of the bawd's wanderings in Kashmir, which provides valuable information on topography. In keeping with the science of erotics *(kāmaśāstra)* Kṣemendra describes with great skill the details of the incidents of the prostitute's life. In the last two cantos the heroine is able to dupe a young man and his parents. Concluding his work, Kṣemendra lays bare the snares of courtesans and warns the youth to beware of them. He humorously applies his knowledge of the science of erotics to the existing social conditions of his age in an admirable didactic manner.

The *Kalāvilāsa* is considered by critics to be Kṣemendra's best work. In ten sections he discourses on the various occupations and follies of mankind. In canto I, the character of Mūladeva, the famous cheat, is introduced. After dealing with greed, arrogance, the pitiable plight of those in love, and the deceiptful nature of courtesans, Kṣemendra starts a satire on the Kāyasthas, the lesser civil servants of the time. The unscrupulousness of their character is here exposed. This corroborates Kalhaṇa's records on the rapacious behaviour of the Kāyastha class narrated at so many places in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Canto VII gives a very interesting satire on the bards and singers. The next canto ridicules the goldsmiths. The last two cantos give advice to young men and indicate the means by which they can avoid falling into evil ways.

The *Darpadalana* is a long poem consisting of seven chapters intended to show the folly of pride, whether it is based on noble birth, wealth, knowledge, beauty, courage, generosity or asceticism. In each case Kṣemendra begins with a few generalizations appropriate to the cause of pride under consideration. He follows these up with a tale in which the leading character delivers a long didactic speech abounding in general maxims and observations. The Buddha appears in this role in the second canto and Śiva in the seventh, where ascetics are denounced as not being worthy of salvation because of their passions.

The *Deśopadeśa* describes in detail Kṣemendra's own observations on the customs and notorious characters of the day. He ridicules misers, courtesans, bawds and parasites. The sixth canto is a satire on the Gauḍa students who came to Kashmir to

complete their studies. In the next an old man's marriage with a small girl is ridiculed.

The *Narmamālā* is a further satire on officials (Kāyasthas) and writers *(diviras)*.

The *Cārucaryāśataka* is a short poem of one hundred verses which teaches law and polity mainly drawn from Epics and Purāṇas.

The *Sevyasevakopadeśa* lays down the duties of master and servant.

The *Caturvargasaṁgraha* seeks to describe the four ends of human life—morality *(dharma)*, practical life *(artha)*, love *(kāma)*, and release *(mokṣa)*.

Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, *Aucityavicāracarcā* and *Suvṛttatilaka* are treatises on making of a poet, literary criticism and metrics respectively.

Opinions are divided on the authorship of *Lokaprakaśa-kośa* of Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa. Bühler has identified him with our renowned author Kṣemendra. There is no denying the fact that in the form and the content of the *Lokaprakāśa* as we find it today considerable alterations and additions have occurred. But in it we find exactly the same humorous descriptions of the origin of the Kāyasthas and *diviras* as we find in the *Narmamālā*.[1] From the general satirical bent of the whole text and the diversity of the subjects treated in it, we are thoroughly convinced that its author could not be anyone else than our Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa. As it seems to have remained a compendium of official business even during the Mohammedan period, many interpolations have occurred in it. Thus Bühler is correct in identifying the author of *Lokaprakāśa* with the famous Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa, but, as Stein also pointed out, the "authorship of Kṣemendra (middle of eleventh century) can be admitted only for a small portion of the work. Additions to it have been made as late as the time of Emperor Shah Jahan."[2]

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* is an important work from the point of view of the history, legendary lore and topography of Kash-

[1] Cf. verse 15 of ch. I, of *N. Mālā* with *Lokaprakāśa*, ch. IV, vs. 2–3.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, pp. 313, 376.

mir. The work contains the 'doctrines of Nīlanāga'—the tutelary deity of Kashmir—which were imparted to the Brahmin Candradeva. Most of the ceremonies and the festivals prescribed by Nīla are the usual Brahmanical and Purāṇic rites, but some are peculiar to Kashmir.

Kalhaṇa also drew on the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* when reconstructing the history of the earlier period.[1] Beni Prasad refers to the expression *nīlamatas* or 'blue records' as reminding one of 'Blue Books.' He thinks that records of political and other happenings were regularly kept in Kashmir.[2] But if this was the case, such records could not have been kept in this form. The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* gives us only the legendary history and mentions the festivals and rites that continued upto Kalhaṇa's own time, while the regular historical records were kept by historians whose names have been mentioned by Kalhaṇa as his predecessors.

Winternitz thinks this Purāṇa to be several centuries earlier than Kalhaṇa's work.[3] Bühler considers it not older than the sixth or seventh centuries of the Christian era.[4] As we have shown it was in the time of the Kārkoṭa dynasty (eighth century A. D.) that a regular tradition of historical writing seems to have started in Kashmir.[5] It would seem, therefore, that it was during this period that the teachings ascribed to Nīlanāga, the king of Kashmir Nāgas and tutelary deity of Kashmir, were also recorded by the Brahmin Candradeva to whom they are said to be revealed.

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* is one of the largest collection of stories extant in the world. Its compiler was a Brahmin named Somadeva. The whole work, containing 22,000 verses, nearly twice as much as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* put together, was written for the amusement of Śūryamatī, wife of King Ananta of Lohara dynasty, at whose court Somadeva was a poet. On the basis of Ananta's first and second retirement from the throne, Somadeva's

1 *Rājat.*, I. 14.

2 *State in Ancient India*, p. 419.

3 Winternitz, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, vol. I, p. 583.

4 Bühler, *Report*, pp. 37ff.

5 Appendix III.

date is fixed at about A. D. 1070.[1] The history of Kashmir at this period is one of discontent, intrigue and despair.

We have used the *Kathāsaritsāgara* with the utmost caution. The chronology of the events and customs referred to is not certain while the locale is different with each story. But on an exhaustive study of the whole work, it is obvious that whatever may be the basis of these stories, the author, being a Kashmirian, could not help living in his own world. The book contains stories about witches, sorcerers and Gandharvas. Kalhaṇa also relates many such stories in connection with the early history of Kashmir. Whatever the origin of these beliefs, there is no denying the fact that Kalhaṇa has used them as historical facts. Relating the story of King Baka and a sorceress[2] who sacrificed him to the "Circle of Mothers" *(mātṛcakra)* Kalhaṇa tells us that the recollection of the story is kept alive in the *maṭhas* of Kherī (modern Khur). Thus we are inclined to believe that though these tales appear to be legendary and mythical—and whether non-Aryan or Indian by origin by Somadeva's and Kalhaṇa's time they had become assimilated and taken a local form. The names of the flowers, fruits and various customs and manners that Somadeva describes are purely Kashmirian and we find them also in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. So deeply is the author immersed in his own atmosphere that even the God of Death *(yamarāja)* is said to write on birch bark *(bhūrja)*, in place of the palm-leaf usual in most parts of India.

The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* is a poem of eighteen cantos which glorify Cālukya King Vikrmāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa (A. D. 1076-1127). Though it deals with a king of Deccan its author was the Kashmiri Bilhaṇa. The last canto contains some information about the author's homeland. With regard to the date of *Vikramāṅkadevacarita's* composition, there is no controversy, and the unanimously accepted date fixed by scholars on the basis of external and internal evidence[3] is in the eleventh century, before A. D. 1088.

[1] *KSS*, Penzer ed., vol. I, introduction, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

[2] *Rājat.*, I. 330-35.

[3] Chandraprabha, *Historical Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit*, 1976, pp. 46-47; *Vikramāṅka.*, Bühler ed., intro., p. 20.

Maṅkha, the renowned poet lived during King Jayasiṁha's time and wrote his famous *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* between the years A.D. 1135 and 1145. Its canto XXV contains much valuable historical information.

Material of a numismatic character, which plays such an important part in the history of the plains, is comparatively scanty in the hills. Though Kalhaṇa also tells us that he made use of the coins while reconstructing the early history of Kashmir, we find that ancient coins especially those of the period with which we are concerned, are very rare. Moreover, even inscriptions on stone and copper plate title-deeds, which were consulted by Kalhaṇa while composing his chronicle, have almost all perished. As the purpose of all such inscriptions was mainly religious, it is no wonder that most of these were destroyed by Mohammedan iconoclast, Sikandar Shah.

In restricting the scope of this work to the Lohara dynasties we have in view the limitations natural to a single work. Such a chronological limitation, however, can only be applied rigidly in the case of political history. In an account of the working of the institutions we have often to go beyond these limits. Though the account of the rule of the Lohara kings is contained in the 7th and 8th cantos of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, we have utilized the earlier portions for supplementing the evidence available in the period under review. The institutions which reach their fuller development under the Loharas, have their origin much earlier. Moreover, Kalhaṇa belongs to the Lohara period and while describing the earlier conditions he often pauses to reflect and pass his own judgement, which ultimately represents his own age.

In order to see our period in its proper perspective and to understand the working of its institutions, sources dealing with both earlier and later periods have been utilized. Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmatam* and Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* have been consulted. The later chronicles of Jonarāja, Śrīvara, Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śuka have helped much in understanding conditions earlier than their own time. We have also utilized two Persian MSS in the India Office Library, London.

Owing to the geographical position and the isolation resulting from it, Kashmir has escaped those great ethnic and political changes which have from time to time swept over the larger part of India. As pointed out by Stein, "local tradition has remained undisturbed and still clings to all prominent sites with that tenacity which is characteristic of Alpine tracts all over the world." Some of the institutions of our period continued even up to the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar's conquest in 1586 despite the fact that the Sultanate period had intervened between this and the Hindu dynasties. Some features of early Kashmir are even noted by Lawrence in his *Valley of Kashmir*. As such we have utilized later material with due caution as throwing light on our period.

As Kashmir was then a purely Hindu state and the authors were well versed in the Dharmaśāstra and Smṛti literature, the local material has been compared with the contemporary theories and institutions in the rest of India. We have tried to understand and interpret the trends in Kashmir society in the light of the Indian background and the sources which relate to the rest of India; though geographically Kashmir enjoyed an isolated and independent position, it had close contacts with other parts of India as far as the South.

The accounts of the Chinese travellers, Hiuen Tsang and Ou-K'ong, and that of the contemporary Muslim traveller Alberūnī, contained in his *Kitāb-ul-Hind*, have also helped in understanding the position enjoyed by Kashmir in Indian literature, learning and religion. Marco-Polo, the Venetian traveller of the thirteenth century, also throws valuable historical light on Kashmir.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICAL HISTORY

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

By Kashmir we do not mean the modern Jammu and Kashmir State which stretches from the east of the Indus to the west of the Ravi, but the valley of Kashmir which is about 84 miles long and 20-25 miles broad, lying between 33° to 34° 35' N and 74° 8' to 75° 25' E. It covers an area of 1,800 to 1,900 square miles and its height above sea-level is nowhere less than 5,000 feet. It is surrounded by an almost unbroken chain of mountain ranges which rise between 10,000 to 18,000 feet high. In the great mountain chain which encircles the Valley, there is one narrow gap, near the north-west end, the gorge at Varāha-mūla, the modern Baramula—the ancient as well as the modern 'gate' *(dvāra)* to the Valley.[1]

Modern Jammu and Kashmir State is a creation of the British and its birthdate is the treaty of Amritsar in A. D. 1846. Historically the territorial extent of the kingdom has always been confined to the great Valley drained by the headwaters of the Vitastā (Jhelum), and to the inner slopes of the ring of mountains that surround it, excepting the occasional suzerainty of Kashmirian kings over the hill-states.[2]

The Indus Valley and the commercially important Gilgit area, though occasionally invaded by the kings of Kashmir were always open to the cultural influence of the Valley.[3] The natural limits of the territory of Kashmir are so sharply marked

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, pp. 387 ff.

[2] Cf. Petech, L., *Northern India According to Shui-Ching-Chu*, p. 72.

[3] *Ibid.* The Sanskrit inscription found at Paniāl up the Gilgit river shows that the *dīnnāra* reckoning in Gilgit (ancient Gilgitā) was essentially of the same character as in Kashmir—evidence of the far-reaching influence which ancient Kashmir also had on the economic side of the civilization of neighbouring tracts. (Stein, *JRAS*, U. K., 1944, pp. 12-14).

that they can be traced through all the historical records whether indigenous or foreign. Hiuen Tsang, Ou-K'ong and Alberūnī's accounts show them clearly and the local chronicles prove in detail that the Kashmir of Kashmirian tradition never extended appreciably beyond the summit-ridges of those great ranges which encircle and protect the Valley.

None of the natural features of Kashmir have had a more direct bearing on the history of the country than the great mountain barriers that surround it. The importance of the mountains as the country's great protecting wall has at all times been duly recognised both by the inhabitants and by foreign observers. Since an early period the Kashmirians have been wont to pride themselves on their country's safety from foreign invasion, a feeling justified only by the strength of these natural defences.[1] Kalhaṇa speaks of Kashmir as unconquerable by the force of soldiers, owing to the protection afforded by its mountain walls.[2] In the statement of policy attributed to King Lalitāditya it is said : "Those who wish to be powerful in this land, must always guard against internal dissension. They are as little in fear of (foreign) enemies *(paraloka)* as the *cārvākas* of the world beyond."[3] Special notice is taken by Hiuen Tsang and Ou-K'ong of the mountains enclosing the kingdom and the difficulty of the passes leading through them.[4] The statements of the early Arab geographers, brief as they are, lay stress on the inaccessible character of the mountains.[5] The great chain is, however, broken at various places by passes leading to the Valley and special care had to be taken in the past to keep a strict watch over them.[6]

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 390.

[2] *Rājat.*, I. 31, 39.

[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, IV.345.

[4] Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. I, pp. 148ff.; Watters, T., *Travels*, vol, I, p. 261; L'Itineraire d' Ou-K'ong, p. 356, vide Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 358.

[5] For Al-Quzwīnī, see Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis*, p. 210; for Al-Idrīsī, see Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 90ff., vide Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 359, note.

[6] *Rājat.*, I.122, 302; VII,140; VIII,413, 451.

Alberūnī, while referring to the inaccessible character of the mountains, shows also the anxious care taken to maintain the natural strength of the country by guarding the passes.[1] Sharāf-ud-dīn, the historian of Timūr (*c.* A. D. 1397), says of Kashmir that this country is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, so that the inhabitants, without the trouble of fortifying themselves, are safe from the attacks of enemies.[2]

Quite often in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we find the terms *dvāra* and *draṅga*. The high mountain wall was broken at a number of places through the Pir Panjal range. These passes are called *dvāras*. Referring to the words *dvārādiṣu pradeśeṣu*, Stein thinks that they probably refer to one or the several main passes which give access to the valley of Kashmir.[3] There are numerous references to the term *dvāra* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which show that there were a number of passes leading to the Valley.[4] These entrances have always played an important part in Kashmir history and have until buite modern times been specially guarded by watch stations.[5]

The mountain-ring enclosing Kashmir is divided into three main ranges. One of these, usually designated as Pir Panjal Range, forms the boundary of the Kashmir Valley to the south and south-west. It begins from the southern-most part of the Valley where the Banihal Pass, 9,200 ft. above the sea, marks the lowest depression in the chain of mountains. After running for about thirty-five miles from east to west, the range turns to the north-northwest. In this direction it continues for about fifty miles more and, after attaining its greatest elevation in the Taṭakūṭī Peak (15,524 ft. above sea), gradually descends towards the valley of the Vitastā. All important old routes towards the Punjab cross this great mountain barrier.[6]

The eastern-most route was the Banihal Pass, the Bāṇa-

1 *Alberūnī's India*, vol.I, p. 206

2 *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, tr., Elias and E. D. Ross, p. 432.

3 *Rājat.*, I.122; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, I.122, note.

4 See *Supra*, p. 14, Fn. 6.

5 Stein, *loc. cit.*

6 Stein, *Rājat.*, vol, II, p. 392.

śālā of Kalhaṇa, which, owing to its small elevation (9,000 ft.), must always have been a convenient route of communication towards the upper Chenab valley and the eastern Punjab hill states. The castle of Bāṇaśālā, which guarded this route, was in the hands of a Khaśa chief in the twelfth century. During Jayasiṁha's reign (A.D. 1128-49), the rival claimant, Bhikṣācara, planned his invasion of Kashmir through this pass. The Banihal Pass is the only route across the Pir Panjal Range on which communication is never entirely stopped by snowfall.[1]

Another crossing in the range is at Siddhapatha (the modern village of Sidau or Budil). It lies on a route which in an almost straight line connects Srinagar with Akhnoor and Jammu in the plains. Running up and down high ridges it is adapted only for foot traffic. But owing to its shortness it was formerly a favourite route with the Kashmirians.[2] Siddhapatha is mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as the route chosen by a pretender in Sussala's reign.[3]

A snowy peak close to the west of the pass of Siddhapatha marks the point where main range changes its direction towards north-northwest. Beyond it lie the passes of Rupri and Darhāl both above 13,000 ft. in height.[4] The lowest dip in the central part of the whole range is marked by the pass known as Pir Panjal, 11,400 ft. high. The route which crosses it has from early days formed the most frequented line of communication from Kashmir to the central part of the Punjab.[5]

The village of Śūrapura (modern Hurpor) is often referred to as the entrance station for reaching Kashmir from Rājapurī and the neighbouring places, or as the point of departure for those entering from the opposite direction.[6] Śūra, the minister

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII. 1665ff.; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, pp. 392-93.

[2] Stein, *op, cit.*, p. 393. According to Drew *(Jummoo.*, p, 524*)*, the distance from Jammu to Srinagar by the Sidau route is reckoned at 129 miles whereas via the Banihal, it is 177 miles.

[3] *Rājat.*, VIII. 557.

[4] Stein, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Rājat.*, III.257; V.39; VII.558, 1348, 1352, 1355, 1520; VIII. 1051, 1134, 1266, 1404, 1513, 1577, 2799.

of Avantivarman (ninth century A.D.), evidently with the intention of establishing a convenient emporium on this trade route, transferred to this locality the watch-station *(dranga)* of the pass.[1] Ascending the valley of the Rembyar or Ramaṇyāṭavī for about seven miles, we reach the point where the streams coming from the Pir Panjal and Rupri passes unite. In the angle formed by them rises a steep rocky hillock which bears on its top a small ruined fort known as Kamelankoth.[2] Kalhaṇa calls this site Kramavarta.[3] At a distance of four miles above Kamelankoth and close to the Mughal Sarai of Aliabad, we have a ridge known as Hastivañj. Aliabad Sarai is a Mughal hospice erected for the shelter of travellers about half a mile above Hastivañj.[4] Stein is right in thinking the *maṭha* or hospice on the Pir Panjal route, which Kṣemendra mentions, to have been situated somewhere in its neighbourhood.[5]

From Aliabad Sarai the road ascends in a gently sloping valley westwards until at a distance of about four and a half miles the Pir Panjal *(Pañcāladeva)* Pass is reached.[6] From this point starts the descent towards the Punjab side. About 3,000 ft. below the Pir Panjal Pass lies Pushian, the ancient Puṣiāṇanāḍa, which Kalhaṇa repeatedly mentions in connection with the civil wars of his own time. Puṣiāṇanāḍa belonged to the territory of Rājapurī.[7] From Pushian the route leads to Bahramgala (Bhairavagala) and from there turning to the south, reaches the Ratan Pir Pass (8,200 ft.), descending into an open valley to Rājapurī.[8]

The central part of the Pir Panjal Range rises considerably. The Tangtal Pass, about five miles on the north of the Pir Panjal Pass, is mentioned by Ab-ul-Fazl.[9] The track crossing it is scarcely practicable for laden animals. The next two

[1] *Rājat.*, V.39.
[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 394.
[3] *Rājat.*, III.227.
[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol II, p. 395. See also *JASB*, 1895, pp. 378ff.
[5] *Ibid.*; *Sam. Māt.*, II.90ff.
[6] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 398.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Vide *Śrīvara.*, IV. 529, 589.
[9] *Ibid.*; *Āin-i-Akbarī*, vol. II, p. 348.

passes, known by the *pahārī* names of Cittapānī and Coṭī Galī are both over 14,000 ft. in height. A short distance to the north-west of the Coṭī Galī Pass the range culminates in Mount Taṭakūṭī which is 15,524 ft. high. From this point the range is crossed by the passes of Sangsafed, Nūrpur and Coragalī—all difficult routes leading down into the valley of Loharin, the ancient Lohara.[1]

The next considerable depression, which was the ancient line of communication between Kashmir and the Western Punjab, via Lohara, was the Toṣamaidān Pass. This pass, being on the most direct route between the Kashmir capital and Lohara, was of special importance during the reigns of the later Kashmirian kings whose original home and safest stronghold was in Lohara. Moreover, it was the shortest and the safest route into the valley of Poonch (Parṇotsa) and to Western Punjab between the Jhelum and the Indus.[2] The route started from the present village of Drang, situated at the foot of the mountains in the Biru Pargana *c.* 33° 57′ lat. 74° 36′ long.—the site of an ancient *draṅga* (watch-station); in olden times it was distinguished as Kārkoṭadraṅga.[3] From there the route ascends over an easy forest-clad slope to the edge of the Toṣamaidān. This place is located as the proper 'gate' *(dvāra)* of this route.[4] The spot is known to this day as Barbal, which in Kashmiri means the place of the 'gate'. The route after crossing the Toṣamaidān plateau, ascends over gently sloping grassy ridges to the Kākodar Spur and passing along the south foot of the latter reaches the pass. The ascent is gradual and easy though the elevation of the latter is over 13,000 feet. The pass itself is equally easy. On its west side two routes are available. One descends in the Gāgrī Valley past the village of Chambar, mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by the name of Śārambara.[5]

The route over the Toṣamaidān was already in all probability, surmises Stein, followed by Hiuen Tsang on his way to

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, pp. 398-99.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. I, VIII.40, note; vol. II, VIII.1596, note.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 399; *Rajat.*, VII.140, 1301.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. II, VIII.1875-77, note,

Parṇotsa or Poonch. It remained a favourite trade route until the recent Jhelum Valley cart-road was constructed. Since this route is always closed by snow longer than that of the Pir Panjal during the winter, the road to Kashmir from Lohara lay by the passes in the west leading into the Vitastā Valley below Baramula.[1]

Beyond the Toṣamaidān Pass, in the north-west, the Pir Panjal Range gradually descends into the Vitastā Valley. Below Baramula this is confined between the two ranges of mountains—the Pir Panjal Range separating from the main chain at a point behind Gulmarg and in the north the mountain system which culminates in the Kājnāg peak (14,400 ft.). A route along the right bank of the river Vitastā, marked by Abbottabad, Garhi, Habibulla, Muzaffarabad and Baramula, has been recognized by Stein in Alberūnī's itinerary. The route started from Baramula and to the western end of the town, stood in ancient times "the stone gate, the western entrance of the kingdom," through which Hieun Tsang had passed before he reached Huṣkapura (Hu-se-kia-lo). Ou-K'ong and Alberūnī knew well this watch-station *(draṅga)*, which is also mentioned by Kalhaṇa under the general designation of *dvāra*. This route was of importance chiefly as leading to Uraśā (Hazara) and to old Gandhāra (Rawalpindi). Stein states that its importance, military or commercial, was in ancient times far smaller than that of the Pir Panjal and Toṣamaidān routes.

The kings of Kashmir held the Vitastā Valley as far as Bolyāsaka (modern Buliasa) as an outlying frontier district. This is indicated by Kalhaṇa's account of Śaṁkaravarman's expedition towards the Indus (A. D. 902) where the Kashmir army retreating from Uraśā reached the borders of their own territory.[2] Beyond this, up to the borders of Uraśā the valley was known as Dvāravatī (modern Dvarabidi).[3] North of Dvāra vatī in the lower valley of the Kṛṣṇā (modern Kishanganga), lay the semi-independent Khaśa principality of Karṇāha (modern

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, IV.177, note E.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 403.

[3] *Rājat.*, V.225; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V.225, note.

[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 404.

Karnav). Between Dvāravatī and Karṇāha the Kājnāg Range accompanies the Vitastā for about eighty miles to Muzaffarabad. The mountains which enclose the Kashmir Valley in the north-west and north, may be looked upon as one great range, and join on to the Kājnāg peak north-west of Baramula and then continue in the direction of south to north towards the upper Kishanganga. The watershed of this portion forms the western boundary of Kashmir towards Karṇāha. One important route crossed this range near Śardi from near the ancient district of Śamālā (modern Hamal) and Uttara (modern Uttar) and was guarded by the castle of Śiraḥśilā.[1] From Śardi this range continues in a slightly south-easterly direction for about 100 miles. The upper course of the Kṛṣṇā (Kishanganga) in this region was inhabited by the Daradas and was known as the Daradadeśa.[2] A route starting from the north of Mahāpadma (Wular lake) crossed this northern range at Gurais on the Kishanganga which is probably to be identified with Daratapurī, the chief town of the Daradas and then led to Astor and the Balti territory, on the Indus. There lies the Dugdhaghāṭa fort which was held by a Ḍāmara and on his death passed to the Daradas; and which King Harṣa unsuccessfully endeavoured to recover.[3] To the east of this fort the summit of the range culminates in the Haramukuṭa (modern Haramukh) peak where are situated some of the holiest *tīrthas* referred to by the Kashmirian sources.[4]

Eastward from Haramukuṭa, the range meets near the head of the Indus Valley, the great chain of snowy mountains which stretches from Mount Nanga Parvat in the south-easterly direction in the Nankum peak from south of which is reached the Zoji-la Pass connecting the Kashmir Valley with China and Tibet via Ladakh. The Tibetan inhabitants beyond this pass were known as the Bhauṭṭas. Kalhaṇa repeatedly refers to the

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.2492; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol, II, pp. 340-44.

[2] *Rājat.*, I. 312; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, I. 312, note; V, 152; VII.119; vol. II, p. 435; VIII.2538.

[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p, 406; *Rājat.*, VII. 1171. See *infra*, ch. IV.

[4] Stein., *Rājat*, vol. II, p. 447.

Bhauṭṭas and the Bhauṭṭarāṣṭra.[1] From Zoji-la a range of mountains, forming the eastern boundary of Kashmir, runs almost due south until it reaches the headwaters of the Vitastā. It then turns to the north-west and at the Banihal Pass joins on to the Pir Panjal Range. Towards the Chenab this range is pierced by two passes, the Margan and the Marbal (11,500 ft.), the latter forming the usual route to Kāṣṭhavāṭa (modern Kishtwar). This territory is mentioned as an independent state by Kalhaṇa. The route descends from Marbal Pass to the valley known as Khaśālī in Kalhaṇa's time.[2]

According to Cunningham the oldest classification of the hill states divided them into three groups, each named after the most powerful state which was the head of the confederation. These were Kashmir, Dugar and Trigarta. The first group consisted of Kashmir and the petty states between the Indus and Jhelum; the second between the Jhelum and Ravi; the third comprised Jālandhara or Trigarta (Kangra) and the various small states between the Ravi and Sutlej.[3] Kashmir was the oldest and the most powerful of the three original states, and was founded long before the Christian era, though all the three existed from a period anterior to the seventh century A.D.[4]

In the seventh century, according to the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang, the kingdom of Kashmir comprised not only the valley of Kashmir itself, but also the whole of the hilly country between the Indus and the Chenab to the foot of the Salt Range in the south. The different states visited by Hieun Tsang were Uraśā to the west of Kashmir, Taxila and Siṁhapura to the south-west and Poonch and Rajauri (Rājapurī) to the south. The other hill states to the east and south-east are not mentioned but there a is good reason for believing that they also were tributary and that the dominions of Kashmir in the seventh century A.D. extended from the Indus to the Ravi.[5] The petty independent state of Kulu, in the upper valley of the Beas river was saved

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.2887; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol, II, p. 408.
[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.399, 588-90, notes; vol. II, p. 410.
[3] Majumdar, S. N., *CAGI*, p. 150.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

by its remoteness and inaccessibility, and the rich state of Jālandhara, on the lower Beas, was then subject to Harṣavardhana, the great king of Kanauj.[1] Śaṁkaravarman extended the sovereign power of Kashmir to the whole of the Punjab from the Indus to the Sutlej.[2]

No understanding of the political history of Kashmir under the Loharas is possible without the picture of the territories that lay beyond the frontiers of ancient Kashmir and formed the neighbours of this kingdom in Hindu times. The names of many of these hill kingdoms occur in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Thus we have Kāṣṭhavāṭa, Campā, Vallāpura, Viṣlāṭā, Rājapurī, Lohara, Parṇotsa, Dvāravati, Uraśā, Karṇāha, the Darada territory and the Bhauṭṭa land. Another kingdom mentioned by Kalhaṇa is Babbāpura and there is also one reference to Bhadrāvakāśa.

Beginning in the south-east we have first the valley of Kāṣṭhavāṭa, the present Kishtwar, on the upper Chenab. It is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a separate hill-state in the time of Kalaśa.[3] The hill-district of Bhadravah, lower down on the Chenab river, is the Bhadrāvakāśa of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[4] Its *rājās* were probably tributary to Campā for we do not find a ruler of this place in Kalhaṇa's list of hill-*rājās*. The *rājās* of Campā (modern Chamba) often figure in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[5] This territory has since early times comprised the valleys of all the sources of Ravi and some adjoining valleys, draining into the Chenab between Kangra, the ancient Trigarta and Kāṣṭhavāṭa (Kishtwar).

To the west of Campā and south of Bhadrāvakāśa lay the old chiefship of Vallāpura, the modern Ballawar. Kalhaṇa repeatedly mentions the rulers of this state. Alberūnī also mentions Ballawar.[6]

[1] Majumdar, S. N., *CAGI*, p. 103.

[2] *Rājat.*, III. 100; V. 143ff; VII. 588-90.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII. 590.

[4] *Ibid.*, VIII. 501.

[5] *Ibid.*, VII. 218, 588, 1512; VIII. 538, 1083, 1443, 1531. Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII. 218, note.

[6] *Alberūnī's India*, vol. I, p. 205.

Immediately at the foot of the Banihal Pass in the territory of Viṣalāṭā we find the castle of a Khaśa lord who gave shelter to Bhikṣācara and at the time was evidently independent.[1] Rājapurī was the most important of the hill-states lying to the south-west and west of Kashmir. It comprised the valleys drained by the Tohī of Rājapurī and its tributaries. Owing to its position on the most direct route to the Punjab, Rājapurī was necessarily often brought into political relations with Kashmir.[2] When Hiuen Tsang passed through it, this kingdom of Rājapurī was subject to Kashmir.[3] Its rulers belonged to the Khaśa tribe. During Lohara times, the chiefs of Rājapurī appear to have been practically independent rulers, though we find the kings of Kashmir occasionally undertaking expeditions into this territory and also interfering in the internal affairs of the kingdom.

On the north-west, Rājapurī was adjoined by the territory of Lohara. The chief valley belonging to this hill-state was the present Loharin. The rulers of Kashmir in the eleventh and twelfth centuries hailed from this territory. The chiefs of Lohara also belonged to the Khaśa tribe. Lohara seems to have included in those times also the town and district of Parṇotsa, corresponding to the present Poonch or Prunts, in the lower valley of the Tohī (Tauṣī). In Hiuen Tsang's times Parṇotsa gave its name to the whole hill state which was the tributary to Kashmir.[4]

Towards the north-west of Parṇotsa (Poonch) is the valley of Vitastā (Jhelum). This was held in olden times as an outlying frontier district of Kashmir as far down as Bolyāska, the present Buliasa. To the west and beyond the course of the Vitastā after its great bend, lay the ancient kingdom of Uraśā. Its greatest part is comprised in the district of Hazara between the Vitastā and Indus.

Lohara or Loharakoṭṭa, 'the castle of Lohara,' played an important part in the medieval history of Kashmir as the ancestral home and stronghold of the second Lohara dynasty

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 432; VIII.2283, note.

[2] *Rājat.*, VI. 286, 348-49, 351; VII. 105, 267, 533, 539, 541, 546 etc.

[3] Majumdar, S. N., *CAGI*, pp. 148-49; Watters, T., *Travels*, vol. I, p. 284.

[4] Watters, T., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 283.

whose narrative fills the last two books of Kalhaṇa's work. As pointed out by Stein, Wilson wrongly identified Lohara with Lahore,[1] because he did not have access to the last two cantos of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, where, in numerous passages, Kalhaṇa speaks of it as a hill-fortress, situated in close proximity to Kashmir. As a result of the special tour in August, 1892 in this locality, Stein fixed its position in the valley now called Loharin belonging to the territory of Poonch (Parṇotsa).[2]

Through Loharin proper and through a side valley descending from the mountains on the north leads the path to the Toṣamaidān Pass, which from the earliest times to the present day has formed one of the most frequented and best routes from the Western Punjab to Kashmir.[3]

Jālandhara is not mentioned in Sanskrit literature except in the *Hemakośa*, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Padma Purāṇa*;[4] on the other hand, Trigarta is repeatedly referred to, notably in the *Mahābhārata*. On the basis of the data supplied by Hiuen Tsang, Cunningham suggested that, if the dimensions supplied are even approximately correct, Jālandhara must then have included the state of Campā on the north with Mandi and Suket on the east, and Satadru on the south-east.[5] At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit Jālandhara itself was the capital, while the capital of Trigarta was probably Nagarakoṭṭa.[6] Referring to the alternative name for the kingdom of Jālandhara in ancient documents—Trigarta or the land of the three rivers—Moorcroft had doubts whether it referred to the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej.[7] Vogel suggests that the reference is to the three main tributaries of the Beas.[8] Hemacandra says:[9]

[1] Wilson, *Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir*; *As. Res.*, vol. XV, p. 47.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 293.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Hutchison & Vogel, *HPHS*, vol. I, p. 103.

[5] Majumdar, S. N., *op. cit.*, pp. 156-58. For Satadru, Cunningham suggests modern Sirhind.

[6] Hutchison & Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[7] Moorcroft, *Travels.*, vol. I, pp. 140-41.

[8] Hutchison & Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103, note.

[9] Vide Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 156; also Hutchison & Vogel, *loc. cit.*

Jālandharās trigatāḥ syuh
(Jālandhara that is Trigarta)

Jālandhara is also mentioned in the *Yoginī Tantra*.[1] The name of Jālandhara is preserved in that of the present town and district of Jullundur in the Punjab. The ancient kingdom of Jālandhara included the hill territories on the upper course of the Beas and in particular Kangra or Trigarta. Jālandhara and Trigarta are several times mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[2] Trigarta is identical with the modern hill district of Kangra, situated between the mountains of Chamba and the upper course of the Beas. A glossary of a manuscript of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* renders Trigarta by Nagarakoṭṭa.[3]

We first read of Trigarta in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, when Śreṣṭasena, the son of Meghavāhana, bestowed the land of Trigarta upon the Pravareśa temple.[4] King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of the Kārkoṭa dynasty made his attendants kings by granting them Jālandhara, Lohara and other territories.[5] At the advance of Śaṁkaravarman's armies, Pṛthvīcandra, the ruler of Trigarta, is said to have approached the king in order to offer homage.[6]

Queen Sūryamatī, wife of King Ananta (A. D. 1028-63), was the daughter of Inducandra of Jālandhara. Her elder sister Āśāmatī had been married to Rudrapāla Śāhi of the Hindu Śāhiya dynasty of Kabul.[7] Cunningham has identified Inducandra of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* with Indracandra of the genealogical lists of the Kangra *rājās*.[8] The ending *candra* in the name of Trigarta *rājā* Pṛthvīcandra, is, however, not found in the genealogical list of the Katoch *rājās* who ruled Kangra from an early

[1] Vide B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 86.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, IV. 177, note; Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol.I, p. 175f.; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 11, 102.

[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, III. 100, note.

[4] *Rājat.*, III, 100.

[5] *Ibid.*, IV. 177.

[6] *Ibid.*, V. 143-47.

[7] *Ibid.*, VII. 150.

[8] Majumdar, S. N., *op. cit.*, p. 159. Cunningham is however wrong in saying that King Ananta (A. D. 1028-81) married two daughters of Inducandra.

period.[1] We find further reference to this place during the reign of King Jayasiṁha when Sujji, the exiled Kashmirian minister, met Jyeṣṭhapāla, a follower of Bhikṣācara at Jālandhara and planned an invasion of Kashmir in alliance with the latter.[2]

Physical and ethnic characteristics sharply mark off the Kashmirian from surrounding races yet no particular localities can be connected with ethnic divisions.[3] On the evidence of the language and physical appearance of the Kashmirians, Stein considers them a branch of the race which brought the Indo-Aryan type of languages into India. The purity of race he assigns not only to the natural isolation of the country but to a curious faculty for absorbing foreign elements.[4]

The wide prevalence of Nāga worship before and even after the Buddhist period indicates that the first settlers in the Kashmir Valley must have been primitive aborigines. The modern Ḍūmbas, the descendants of the old Ḍombas are related to the gipsy tribes of India and Europe.[5] J. J. Modi has made an attempt to show that Kashmir was once a Zoroastrian country,[6] but, as pointed out by Dr. Sufi, the references quoted in support of this view are more or less of a legendary nature.[7]

Modern authorities like Lawrence, Younghusband and Bernier have pointed out the Jewish cast of faces of the inhabitants of Kashmir.[8] Referring to the Kashmirians Alberūnī pointed out that it was difficult to have commerce with them and that "in former times, they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people."[9]

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, p. 99.
[2] *Rājat.*, VIII. 1651, 1670.
[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 429.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 430. Also see *infra*, ch. V.
[6] Modi, J. J. *JBBRAS*, vol. XIX, December 1895, pp. 237-48.
[7] Sufi, G. M. D., *Kashīr*, vol. I, p. 15.
[8] Lawrence, W., *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 317-18; Younghusband, *Kashmir*, pp. 129-30; Bernier F., *Travels*, vol. II, pp. 171-73.
[9] *Alberūnī's India*, vol. I, p. 206.

POLITICAL HISTORY

From Lohara (modern Loharin) hailed our kings of medieval Kashmir, whom we refer to as the kings of the Lohara dynasties, and who ruled in the most critical times from A. D. 1003 to 1171.

Before the advent of the Lohara dynasty to the throne, Kashmir was ruled by the dynasty of Parvagupta (A. D. 949-50) who rose from the family of a *divira* or 'writer'. Parvagupta had been in the cabinet of ministers during the reign of King Saṁgrāmadeva of the dynasty of Yaśaskara (A. D. 939-948). Having killed the boy king in A. D. 949, he seated himself on the vacant throne.[1] After Parvagupta, his son Kṣemagupta succeeded to the throne (A. D. 950-58).[2] Kṣemagupta married Diddā, the daughter of Siṁharāja, the ruler of Lohara.[3] This marriage created bonds between the rulers of Lohara and the kings of Kashmir. Kṣemagupta died in A. D. 958 and queen Diddā first exercised royal power as the guardian of her son Abhimanyun II (A.D. 958-72) and later of her grandsons, Nandigupta (A. D. 972-73), Tribhuvana (A. D. 973-75) and Bhīmagupta (A.D. 975-80/1).[4] Assured of her safety by the help of Tuṅga, a Khaśa from Parṇotsa (Poonch) in the year A. D. 980/1 she had Bhīmagupta put to death by torture and reigned for twenty-three years with Tuṅga as her Prime Minister.[5] Ultimately she bequeathed the throne in an undisputed succession to her nephew, the young Saṁgrāmarāja, son of her brother Udayarāja, the ruler of Lohara.[6]

[1] *Rājat.*, VI. 115-30. Saxena (*PHK*, p. 140) states that since the title *rājānaka* was quite popular in Kangra regions, Parvagupta might have hailed from that area. This does not seem to be convincing in view of the fact that *rājānaka* appears as a very popular title for Kashmiri Brahmins in the chronicle and other Kashmirian sources.

[2] *Rājat.*, VI. 150.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI.176. Queen Diddā was on her mother's side a grand-daughter of King Bhīma Śāhi of Udabhāṇḍa, modern Und, the ancient capital of Gandhāra.

[4] *Ibid.*, VI. 188ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, VI. 330ff

[6] *Ibid.*, VI. 355ff.

With Saṁgrāmarāja commenced the rule of the Lohara kings. These kings belonged to the Khaśa race. The terms *khaśa, khaśaka* or *khāśaka* appear frequently in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the people to whom they refer in so many verses have been confined by Stein to a comparatively limited region comprising the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pir Panjal Range. We believe, however, that this term covered the inhabitants of a wider area of the Himalayas than Stein admits.[1]

Kalhaṇa depicts Saṁgrāmarāja as a prudent but personally weak ruler.[2] Tuṅga remained in power during the early part of the reign of this king in spite of a revolt which the Brahmin ministers had stirred against him through the Brahmins and the temple-*purohitas*.[3] But old age and the cares of official affairs so weakened his discretion that he started employing inefficient and rapacious persons into high state offices,[4] a step which added to his unpopularity. His position was further weakened by his defeat at the hands of Mahmūd of Ghaznī.[5]

The most important event in the history of Northern India during the early decades of the eleventh century, when Saṁgrāmarāja was on the throne of Kashmir (A. D. 1003-28), was the series of Muhammedan expeditions led by Mahmūd of Ghaznī, but the great wave of invasion which swept across the Indus stopped short of the mountain ramparts protecting Kashmir. The several expeditions which we know Mahmūd to have led in that direction never seriously threatened the independence of the Valley. There is a distinct record of these events in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Kalhaṇa gives us an account of the expedition which was despatched under Tuṅga to the assistance of Śāhi

[1] See *infra*, Appendix IV. According to G. L. Kaul (*Kashmir through the Ages*, pp. 50-51), the Lohara dynasty was a Rajput dynasty and thus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as elsewhere in India there were Rajput kings in Kashmir also. The Lohara ruling family is said to belong to the Bhaṭṭi clan of Rajputs and hence the Kashmir Kings were probably Bhaṭṭi's. He has, however, not given his source for this belief.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII. 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII. 13ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII. 37ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, VII. 70.

Trilocanapāla.[1] Not listening to the advice given by the Śāhi ruler, who was acquainted with the *turuṣka* system of warfare; and encouraged by the defeat of the Mohammedan reconnaissance party, Tuṅga went to fight with them and was defeated. From the materials available in Elliot's work Stein takes this expedition to have been undertaken in the year A. D. 1013 as against the ninth of Mahmūd's campaigns according to Elliot's reckoning.[2] Firishta tells us that in A. H. 404 (A. D. 1013) Mahmūd marched with his army against the fort of Nindoona,[3] situated on the mountains of Bulnat, then in the possession of the *rājā* of Lahore, i. e. the Śāhi King Ānandapāla. His son Jaipāla II's grandson, seeing that he could not oppose the Sultān in the field, drew off his army towards Kashmir. It is in connection with this campaign of Sultān Mahmūd that Firishta tells us about his plundering of Kashmir and forcing the inhabitants to

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I. VII. 47-48. It was in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa (November-December) that King Saṁgrāmarāja despatched Tuṅga to help the Śāhi King Trilocanapāla.

Kashmir is also said to have given shelter to Ānandapāla, son of Jaipāla in A.D. 1006, on his defeat near Peshawar, by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī. There is no such record in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Possibly Kalhaṇa was aware of these happenings but did not care to record because they did not concern his narrative. (Habib, M., *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, 2nd ed., pp. 23-24). Cf. Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII.1190, note; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, vol. XX, pp. 114-15; Briggs, J., *Firishta.*, vol. I, p. 41.

[2] Latif, S. M. (*History of the Punjab*, p. 83) reckons this as the seventh invasion of India by Mahmūd. Cf. *Rājat.*, VII, 47-58; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII. 47-69, note. Nazim (*SMGh.*, pp. 92-93 note) points out that Kalhaṇa's reference to Mahmūd as *hammīra* is an obvious adaptation of *amīra* as title by which Mahmūd was generally known and not *Amīr-ul-Mumenin* as suggested by Stein.

[3] Briggs, J., *Firishta.*, vol. I, p. 54. Nandana, situated on the northern spur of the Salt Range, commands the main route into the Ganges Doāb. It is the Nārdūn of Utbi. Gardīzī and Baihāqī call it Nandūnah. *Jhelum Gazetteer* (p. 62) also identified Ninduna with Nandana, a hill fort in the Salt Range where there are some remains of ancient buildings belonging to Kashmir rule. Refer Nazim, *SMGh.* p. 91, note and *Punjab District Gazetteers*, XXVIIA (Jhelum District), 1904, pp. 46-47.

acknowledge the prophet.[1] Kalhaṇa records that when Trilocanapāla had gone afar, the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce *caṇḍālas*.[2]

Thus the power of Trilocanapāla was broken and, putting the fort of Nandana in the charge of Sārūgh, the Sultān returned to Ghaznī in the summer of A. H. 405 (July-August, A. D. 1014).

Once more Kalhaṇa, while talking of the conduct of the sons of a certain Candramukha, whom Saṁgrāmarāja had put in the military posts previously held by Tuṅga, tells us how they too, when sent by the king to fight with the Turuṣkas, fled and came back to their country.[3] He does not, however, give us the date of this event. The first actual invasion of Kashmir—the siege of Lohkot or Loharakoṭṭa—is recorded by the Muhammedan historians, Gardīzī and Firishta[4] as occurring in the year A. H. 406 (A.D. 1015). The Sultān made preparations for an invasion of Kashmir, probably to punish Saṁgrāmarāja for his assistance to Trilocanapāla. He marched towards Jhelum and then, proceeding along the valley of the river Tohī (ancient Tauṣī of Parṇotsa), he tried to cross over to Kashmir by the Toṣamaidān Pass. His progress was checked by the hill-fort of Lohkot, which guarded the pass and had the reputation of being impregnable. The Sultān invested the fort, but heavy snowfall cut off the communications and, after a month's fruitless endeavour, he was forced to raise the siege and retire.[5] All the Muhammedan historians tell us that on his return march Mahmūd had to face great trouble. Many of his troops

[1] Briggs. J., *Firishta.*, vol. I, p.54.The reference is to Trilocanapāla who is mentioned as Pūrjaipāl in Elliot's version. *Alberūnī's India* (vol. II, p. 13), mentions him as Tarojanapala who according to him was killed in A. H. 412 or A. D. 1021 and his son Bhīmapāla in A. D. 1026. See also C. V. Vaidya, *HMHI*, vol. III, p. 61; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.47-69, note.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII. 63.

[3] *Rājat.*, VII. 111-18.

[4] Briggs, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55; Gardīzī vide M. Nazim, *SMGh.*, p. 104.

[5] Briggs. *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55; S. M. Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 83; Habib, *Sultan Mahmnd of Ghaznin*, pp. 35-37.

perished and he himself escaped with difficulty.[1] Nazim thinks that it was probably during this expedition that some of the *rājās* of the south-western Kashmir hills submitted to the Sultān.[2]

Mahmūd made another attempt to invade Kashmir and in the autumn of A. H. 413 (September-October, A. D. 1021), he marched from Ghaznī to conquer the fort of Lohkot which had formerly checked his advance.[3] The natural defences of the fort again proved impregnable, and for one month the besiegers made futile attempts to take it. The onset of severe winter reduced them to a pitiable plight and the Sultān was once again forced to raise the siege and finally to abandon the idea of conquering Kashmir. Firishta's history has another reference to the Sultān going to sack the hilly tracks named Kuriat and Nardein, which lie between Turkistan and Hindustan. Both these places he pillaged, and converted the inhabitants to Islam; he destroyed the temple at Nardein and, after building a fort there, marched in the direction of Kashmir and on the route invested the stronghold of Lohkot, but finding it altogether impregnable he decamped.[4] We have already noted that Firishta mentions that Mahmūd's first expedition against Lohkot took place in the year A. D. 1015.[5] This account of a second campaign must refer to that which must have been undertaken by Mahmūd in September-October, A. D. 1021. Thus the accounts of the Muslim historians corroborate one another on the point that Mahmūd made repeated efforts to sack the hill fortress of Lohkot or the Loharakoṭṭa of Kalhaṇa, but that every time he was foiled in his attempt. It is, however

[1] *Tab. Ak.*, tr. by B. De, p. 9.

[2] Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 105, note. Cf. *Utbi*, p. 304.

Firishta tells us that on his invasion of Kanauj, Mahmūd reached the confines of Kashmir and the prince whom he had established in that country sent him presents and was directed to accompany the army (Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 57).

[3] *Imp. Gaz.*, Provincial Series, vol. I, Punjab (Calcutta, 1908).

[4] Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 65; *Tab. Ak.*, tr. by B. De, p. 13; Latif, *op. cit*, p. 84; Habib, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[5] *Supra*, p. 30.

interesting that, except for the mention of the two expeditions sent by King Saṁgrāmarāja, Kalhaṇa is quite silent about Mahmūd's invasions. Moreover, in both these cases he mentions the defeat of Tuṅga and of the sons of Candramukha, whom Saṁgrāmarāja had installed in Tuṅga's position.[1] Kalhaṇa, however, often mentions the natural defences of his country and the strength of the Lohara castle, which served as a stronghold even during the internal strife and the civil wars of the two Lohara dynasties.[2] Knowing the weakness of his countrymen's forces and their lack of acquaintance with the Turkish system of warfare, it may be that he did not feel strongly about the defeat of Mahmūd which was not so much due to the strength of the fighting forces as to the natural impregnability of the fortress itself—hence his silence on this point.

Regardingt these invasions V. A. Smith writes that in the reign of Diddā's nephew, Saṁgrāma, the kingdom suffered an attack from Madmūd of Ghaznī and, although its troops were defeated by the invader, it preserved its independence which was due to the inaccessibility of the mountain barriers.[3] On the evidence of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, C. V. Vaidya maintains that the text tells of the defeat of Saṁgrāmarāja's forces not in Kashmir, but in Kabul, where they had been sent to assist the Śāhi king. Kashmir was not invaded in the days of Saṁgrāma at all.[4] While Vaidya is right in saying that Kalhaṇa's reference relates to King Saṁgrāma's sending Tuṅga to help the Śāhi ruler Trilocanapāla against the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, his further statement, that Kashmir was not invaded at all in the reign of Saṁgrāmarāja, is wrong. Although Kalhaṇa is silent about the matter we have already seen on the authority of Muslim historians that Mahmūd invaded Kashmir in the years A.D. 1015 and 1021.[5] From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, we know that

[1] *Supra*, pp. 28-29; *Rājat.*, VII. 47-69, 118.
[2] *Rājat.*, IV. 345; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 293.
[3] Smith, V. A., *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 389.
[4] Vaidya, C. V., *HMHI*, vol. II, p. 228.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 30-31.

Saṁgrāmarāja ruled from A.D. 1003 to 1028.[1] Smith seems to have interpreted Mahmūd's invasion of the kingdom of the Śāhi Trilocanapāla as an invasion of Kashmir, but he is on the whole correct in stating that Mahmūd was never able to conquer Kashmir due to the inaccessibility of its mountain ramparts.[2] Smith's statement thus tends to combine the events of several years into a single campaign, and is therefore confused.

Though Kalhaṇa does not give us the date of Mahmūd's invasion of Trilocanapāla's territory and Saṁgrāmarāja's help to the latter, we gather on the authority of Mohammedan sources that the event took place in A.D. 1013. About Mahmūd's fight against Trilocanapāla which we date as A.D.1013, Vaidya writes: "If we reconcile this account with the statement of Alberūnī that Trilocanapāla ruled till 1021 and Bhīma ruled for five years after him, we have either to postpone this battle to 1021 A. D. or to believe that Trilocanapāla lived and ruled till 1021 some other insignificant portion of the hilly sub-montane part of the Punjab or went to Kanauj and there again fought with Mahmūd."[3]

Basing his remarks on the account given by Utbi, Nazim tells us that, after his defeat at the hands of Mahmūd, Trilocanapāla returned to the eastern part of the Punjab, where he seems to have established himself in the Shiwalik hills.[4] Trilocanapāla did not rest in peace, but carried on warfare with neighbouring *rājās*, particularly with Candra Rai of Sharwā. After Mahmūd's expedition to Kanauj (A.H. 409 or beginning of A.D. 1019), Trilocanapāla entered into alliance with Gandā, (Nanda of Utbi[5] and other Muslim historians), *rājā* of Kāliñjar and secured from him a promise of help in winning back his ancestral kingdom from Sultān Mahmūd.[6] When Mahmūd

[1] *Rājat.*, VII. 1-127.

[2] *Supra*, p. 32.

[3] Vaidya, C. V., *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 61-62. Also see *Alberūnī's India*, vol. II, p. 13. G. L. Kaul (*Kashmir through the Ages*, p. 44) also takes this event to have taken place in A. D. 1021.

[4] Nazim, *SMGh.*, p. 93.

[5] *Utbi*, pp. 311-13. Vide Nazim, *loc. cit.*,

[6] Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

received news of this alliance he marched from Ghaznī in the beginning of autumn, A.H. 410 (October, A.D. 1019) with the intention of punishing Gandā.[1] The Sultān pursued Trilocanapāla and overtook him on the 15th of December 1019, but Trilocanapāla managed to cross the river Ruhut (Ramaganga). Ultimately Trilocanapāla was wounded in the battle; he managed to escape but was assassinated by some of his own followers in A.D. 1021-22.[2]

The events in which Trilocanapāla lost his life occurred in A.D. 1021.[3] His son Bhīmapāla succeeded to his dominions and with his death in A.D. 1026 the Hindu Śāhiya dynasty came to an end. Thus we have seen that the battle with Trilocanapāla took place in A.D. 1013 and there is no necessity of shifting it to A.D. 1021, while Vaidya's second suggestion is proved by the above account. All this evidence is corroborated by Kalhaṇa when he says: "Even after he had obtained victory, Hammīra did not breathe freely, thinking of the superhuman prowess of the illustrious Trilocanapāla, who displayed great resolution even after he had fallen from his position, and relying on his force of elephants endeavoured to recover his victory."[4] He further states: "I have not described here at length how rapidly the royal glory of the Śāhis has vanished, even (down to their very) name, this being only an incident."[5] Thus it is clear that the event of A.D. 1013 was just an incident among the campaigns of Mahmūd against Trilocanapāla. Finally Kalhaṇa pathetically says: "Śāhi kingdom whose greatness on the earth has been indicated above in the account of King Śaṁkaravarman's reign, now one asks oneself whether, with its kings, ministers and its court, it ever was or was not ?"[6]

Saṁgrāmarāja died in the month of Āṣāḍha (June-July), A.D. 1028, and was succeeded by his son Harirāja. This prince,

[1] *Utbi.*, pp. 317-18.
[2] Majumdar, R. C., *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 7; Nasim, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
[3] *Rājat.*, VII.66-69; *Alberūnī's India*, vol. II, p. 13.
[4] *Rājat.*, VII.64-65. Cf. Latif, S. M., *History of the Punjab*, p. 84.
[5] *Rājat.*, VII.66.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.68-69.

during his brief reign, took steps to preserve law and order, but his reign was cut short by his sudden death after only 22 days. The rumours were that queen-mother Śrīlekhā had used witchcraft against him because he did not approve of her licentious conduct.[1] Though this queen wanted to get the throne for herself, the Ekāṅgas and the king's foster brother, Sāgara, made her child-son, Ananta, the king.[2] Encouraged by these events in Kashmir, Vigraharāja, the ruler of Lohara, who was Ananta's paternal uncle, proceeded from Lohara in rapid marches, burnt down the 'gate' *(dvāra)*,[3] and after two and a half days unexpectedly entered the city. The troops of Śrīlekhā, however, foiled his designs.

The most important political event during the reign of King Ananta was the marriage of the king with Sūryamatī, the younger daughter of Inducandra, the prince of Jālandhara. This marriage was arranged at the inducement of Rudrapāla, one of the Śāhi princes staying at Ananta's court after the destruction of the Śāhi power at the hands of Mahmūd of Ghaznī. Rudrapāla had himself married the elder sister named Āśāmatī. This brought together the Śāhis, the king of Kashmir and the prince of Jālandhara in close ties of a matrimonial alliance.[4] The Śāhis, though no more a great power by themselves, wielded great influence at Ananta's court. Though haughty and extravagant, they greatly helped King Ananta against the invasions of the Daradas. Acalamaṅgala, the king of the Daradas, together with seven *mleccha* princes, invaded Kashmir. This invasion was instigated by the Ḍāmaras, who were induced to do so by treasury superintendent *(gañjādhipa)*, Brahmarāja, who had quarrelled with Rudrapāla, the Śāhi prince. The *mleccha* princes were all slain or captured and King Ananta got a rich booty of gold, jewels and other presents. The Śāhi prince presented to Ananta, the head of the Darada ruler.[5] H. C. Ray

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.127-33.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII.134-35.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.139-40. The term *dvāra* refers to one of the 'gates' leading to the Valley. See *supra*, p. 15.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII.150-52.

[5] *Ibid.*, VII.166-76.

thinks that "by the word *mleccha*, Kalhaṇa meant Muslim chiefs from the upper Indus valley."[1] Citing the use of the word Śakas for the enemies of Ananta (who joined the Darada ruler) by Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Ray suggests that by *śaka*, Bilhaṇa may have hinted at the Turkish origin of the *mleccha* princes.[2] C. V. Vaidya also takes these princes as Muslim Turks.[3] We, however, agree with Stein that the *mleccha*, princes, referred to here, were the Mohammedan chiefs from Cilās and Astor regions of Indus valley.[4]

King Ananta obtained further victories over various kings. He first invaded Campā[5] (modern Chamba). He uprooted King Sāla and placed a new ruler on the throne. King Sāla, whose name does not occur in the Chamba *vaṁśāvalī*, has been identified by Prof. Kielhorn with Sālavāhana mentioned as King Somavarmadeva's predecessor in the Chamba grants.[6]

Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* speaks of King Ananta's supremacy being acknowledged in Campā, Dārvābhisāra, Trigarta and Bhartula (Vartula).[7] Cunningham places the invasion of Campā by Ananta between A.D. 1028 to 31, but as already pointed out by Stein, he does not give his authority for any of these dates.[8] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* does not give us any date for this event and there is no allusion to it in the Chamba *vaṁśāvali*. Vogel thinks that it occurred not later than A. D. 1060, nor much earlier than A.D. 1050.[9] The date of Sālavāhana is given as *c.* A.D. 1040.[10] Taking King Ananta's invasion of

[1] Ray, H. C., *DHNI*, vol. I, p. 139.

[2] *Ibid.*; *Vikramāṅka.*, XVIII.33-34.

[3] Vaidya, C. V., *HMHI*, vol. II, p. 228, vol. III, p. 31. Śaka in the sense of Mohammedans is found in the grant plate in *JASB*, vol. XLIII, pt. I, pp. 105-108, plate X.

[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.168, note; vol. II, VIII.2762-64, note. Also Ray, S. C., *EHCK*, p. 60; Saxena, K. S., *PHK*, pp. 172-73.

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.218.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II, p. 7f.

[7] *Vikramāṅka.*, XVIII.38.

[8] Majumdar, S. N., *CAGI*, p. 162; *Arch. Survey*, 1882, vol. XIV, pp. 114-15; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.218, note.

[9] Hutcihson & Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

Campā, as stated by Cunningham, to be between A. D. 1028 and 1031 and noticing the presence of Āsaṭa in King Kalaśa's assembly of hill-*rājās*, Kielhorn dates the Campā grant to the middle of the eleventh century.[1]

The earliest of the copper-plates of Campā was granted by Somavarman in the seventh year of his reign in the month of Bhādon, and on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Vogel has stated that there was a solar eclipse in Bhādon, A.D. 1066, and though the day does not exactly correspond with that on the plate, he thinks it near enough to raise a strong probability that this is the eclipse referred to. Counting back seven years from A.D. 1066, Vogel fixes A.D. 1059-60 as the probable date of the invasion of Campā by Anantadeva and of Somavarman's accession. He considers that Ananta's invasion could not have been later than A.D. 1060, nor much earlier than A.D. 1050.[2] He has also stated that solar eclipses took place in the month of Bhādon of the years A.D. 1047, 1056 and 1066, but restricts the alternative dates to A.D. 1056 and 1066, the latter being regarded as the more probable date of the eclipse referred to.[3]

We have already referred to Cunningham's suggestion that the invasion of Campā by Ananta took place in between A.D. 1028 and 1031.[4] Dr. Saxena has also accepted this date.[5] We cannot accept this as it appears to be definitely too early. It is clearly stated in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that King Ananta began his reign as a child in A.D. 1028.[6] It is also known from this source that Ananta committed suicide in A.D. 1081 at the age of sixty-one.[7] Born in A. D. 1020, Ananta could not have led an expedition at the tender age of eight or eleven years.

The eclipse of A.D. 1066 referred to by Vogel occurred actually in Āśvina, Friday, September 21, 1066. Therefore, we are not satisfied that it was the eclipse referred to in the Campā

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, pp. 7f.
[2] Hutchison & Vogel, *HPHS*, vol. I, p. 275.
[3] *Ibid.*, note.
[4] *Supra*, p. 36.
[5] Saxena, K. S., *PHK*, p. 174, note.
[6] *Rājat.*, VII.134-35; cf. Vogel, *Ant. Chamba*, pp. 183f.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.452.

grant.[1] Here we consider the other two solar eclipses mentioned by Vogel as having taken place in the month of the Bhādrapada of the years A.D. 1047 and 1056. If we take the eclipse of the year A.D. 1047 into consideration and count back seven years from that date we get A.D. 1040 as the year of the invasion of Campā by King Ananta. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tells us that, after uprooting King Sāla, Ananta placed a new ruler on the throne of Campā.[2] This was King Somavarman as mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Campā and identified by Kielhorn.[3] Somavarman's date of accesion would thus be A.D. 1040.

According to Tilakwada grant of Bhoja, mentioned by Dr. K. S. Saxena, his General, Sūrāditya, defeated one King Sāhavāhana and this Sāhavāhana has been taken as King Sāla or Sālavāhana of Campā defeated by King Ananta.[4] If we take the Tilakwada grant of the reign of Bhoja Parmāra of Dhārā to be correctly dated in A.D. 1047 and we also take the solar eclipse of Bhādrapada A.D. 1047 as the year of Campā copper-plate grant we would get a plausible clue that the Campā king was defeated by King Ananta of Kashmir with the help of King Bhoja Parmāra of Dhārā. Having been born in A.D. 1020 and being a young boy Ananta surely needed his friend's help in the invasion of Campā. This fact is corroborated by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* wherein it is stated that one Padmarāja, a foreigner, used to supply betels to King Ananta. He also supplied holy waters in glass jars from the Pāpasūdana *tīrtha* tank to King Bhoja.[5] Stein is of the opinion that Bhojarāja was undoubtedly the King Bhoja of Dhārā, who ruled over Malwā in the first half of the eleventh century. His reign has been fixed as extending from about A.D. 1010 to 1063.[6] According to R. S. Pandit, Bhoja ascended the throne of Dhārā in 1018 A.C. and reigned

[1] Pillai, Swamikannu, *Indian Chronology*, 1911, pp. 82-86, Table X, *(Sūrya Siddhānta)*.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.218.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, pp. 7ff.

[4] Saxena, K. S., *PHK*, p. 174, note.

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.190-93.

[6] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.190-93, note; VII.259; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 232ff.

for more than forty years.[1] Kalhaṇa has also stated that King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) was helped in his last desperate struggle against his brothers Uccala and Sussala of Lohara by Jāsaṭa (A.D. 1105-1117/8), the son of Harṣa's maternal uncle.[2] This reference shows that Harṣa's mother, Bappikā, was a princess of Campā. We also consider the dates of birth of the kings of Kashmir in this connection. King Kalaśa is stated to have been 49 years of age at his death in A.D.1089, thus establishing his date of birth in A.D.1040.[3] On the evidence of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we know that Harṣa was born in A.D.1058;[4] Kalaśa was then 18 years of age. Kalaśa may have thus been married to Bappikā at the customary age of 16 years[5] in A.D.1056, which shows that by this date relations between Kashmir and Campā were further strengthened by the close ties of a matrimonial alliance. Moreover, Kalhaṇa records troubles at home during the period immediately preceding King Ananta's abdication in favour of his son Kalaśa in A.D.1063.[6] We are therefore convinced that Ananta's career of conquests and expeditions must have come to an end long before his abdication. The date we have fixed would also give a fair length of time to the rule of Somavarman who was succeeded by his brother Āsaṭa, presumably about A.D.1080,[7] for the latter was definitely on the throne of Campā by A.D. 1087/8 when we find him in the list of hill *rājās* who assembled in Kashmir during King Kalaśa's reign.[8]

Encouraged by these successes, Ananta led an expedition to Vallāpura[9] (modern Ballawar, situated in the lower hills to the east of Jammu). His troops became weary and were with difficulty

[1] Pandit, R. S., *Rājat.*, VII.190, note.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.1512-13. According to Vogel Jāsaṭavarman must have been only heir-apparent at that time, as a stone inscription, found at Luj in Pangi, is dated in the first year of his reign, S 81—A.D. 1105. (Hutchison & Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-93).

[3] *Rājat.*, VII.723.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1717.

[5] Cf. *Arthaśāstra*. Bk. III, ch. III; *Manu.*, ch. 9, v. 94.

[6] *Rājat.*, VII.222-32.

[7] Hutchison & Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

[8] *Rājat.*, VII.588-90.

[9] *Rājat.*, VII.220.

extricated by Haladhara (commander-in-chief). His attack on Uraśā (modern Hazara) was also not a great success and the retreat was made possible by this able commander-in-chief's sagacity.[1] While King Ananta was engaged in reckless foreign expeditions various acts of violence occurred at home. The illustrious Rājeśvara, who was the lord of the 'gate', fell at the hands of the Ḍāmaras of Kramarājya.[2] There were also palace scandals about Queen Sūryamatī;[3] the king also came under the domination of his wife and was ultimately induced by her to abdicate in favour of his son Kalaśa, much against the wishes of some of his ministers.[4] Later, he again took the royal power into his own hands, while Kalaśa remained king merely in name.[5] In the meantime Kalaśa fell into the hands of base associates and led an utterly immoral life. In one of his licentious appointments he was disgraced by the night watchmen and was only saved from their hands by disclosing his identity as a king.[6] This disgrace and utter humiliation brought rupture between father and son,[7] but Ananta's hands were tied by his queen, who out of her love for the son would not permit the king to take any strong action against Kalaśa.[8] Angered by these circumstances King Ananta left for Vijayeśvara with his followers.[9] King Kalaśa tried to put his administrative machinery in order and, after arranging things in Srinagar, he attacked Ananta.[10] Here again an armistice was arranged between father and son by the queen. Kalaśa retreated on the receipt of secret messages from the queen, while King Ananta, annoyed by the behaviour of his son, thought of passing the sovereignty to the sons of Tanvaṅga.[11] Fearing

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.221; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V.217, note.
[2] *Rājat.*, VII.222-23.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.225.
[4] *Ibid.*. VII.228-31.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.244-46.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.273ff. Four princes of the Śāhi family were his associates.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.317-22.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII.334.
[9] *Ibid.*, VII.336f., 357-60.
[10] *Ibid*, VII.366-67.
[11] *Ibid.*, VII.381. Tanvaṅga was Ananta's brother and son of Jassarāja by another branch of the Loharas,

lest the throne should pass from her line, the queen secretly called Harṣa, the elder son of Kalaśa to Vijayeśvara, in order to make him the king.[1] When Harṣa joined his grandparents, Kalaśa in disgust burnt down Vijayeśvara and persistently ordered the old king to go over to Parṇotsa. The queen also induced him to do so. Later in a violent altercation with his wife, Ananta committed suicide in A.D.1081.[2]

Another important event in the history of Kashmir at this time was the visit of Ananta's cousin Kṣitirāja from Lohara, who was troubled by the evil conduct of his son, and abdicated the throne of the hill principality in favour of Utkarṣa, the younger son of Kalaśa.[3] Thus the kingdom of Kashmir was for the first time joined with that of Lohara under the rule of the same family. The financial position under King Ananta and the influence of Queen Sūryamatī over this king have been dealt with separately.[4]

After the death of King Ananta and the self-immolation of Queen Sūryamatī, Kalaśa tried to end hostilities with his son Harṣa. He appropriated the treasures which Harṣa had brought from his grandparents and fixed a certain sum as allowance for him. Kalaśa also tried to look personally into the affairs of the kingdom and brought about much improvement in the administration.[5] Having settled the affairs at home and having made pious foundations, he took up foreign expeditions. At this time King Sahajapāla of Rājapurī died and was succeeded on the throne by his son Saṁgrāmapāla, but the child King's uncle, Madanapāla, wanted to usurp the throne. Saṁgrāmapāla's sister took refuge in Kashmir and sought help from King Kalaśa and the latter's soldiers restored order in Rājapurī.[6] There was trouble once again from Madanapāla in Rājapurī but the Kashmirian commander, Bappaṭa, defeated him and brought him

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.390-92.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.408, 420-22ff., 445-46.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.251-56.
[4] *Infra*, ch. V.
[5] *Rājat.*, VII.488ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.533-37.

in fetters to the king.[1] The next expedition was sent to Uraśā under Malla, the father of the future kings, Uccala and Sussala. Malla easily defeated King Abhaya[2] of Uraśā and brought herds of horses as booty. These expeditions and successes were followed by a *darbār* of hill-*rājās* in Kashmir in A.D. 1087-88. According to Kalhaṇa it was attended by :

(i) Kīrti of Baddhāpura (Babbāpura or Durgara)
(ii) Āsaṭa, king of Campā (Chamba)
(iii) Kalaśa, Tukka's son, lord of Vallāpura (Balor or Ballawar)
(iv) King Saṁgrāmapāla, lord of Rājapurī (Rajauri)
(v) Utkarṣa, ruler of Lohara (Loharin)
(vi) Saṅgaṭa, king of Uraśā (Hazara)
(vii) Gāmbhīrasīha, chief of Kānda
(viii) Uttamarāja, the ruler of Kāṣṭhavāṭa. (Kishtwar).[3]

Stein could not identify King Kīrti of Baddhāpura with any of the rulers mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[4] On the basis of variations in the various manuscripts, he suggested that the ruler of Babbāpura, mentioned in the list of *rājās* from the hills to the east of Kashmir, corresponds in all probability to the chief named in the first place.[5]

He also suggested that Kīrti could possibly be the abbreviated name of Kīrtirāja, who is referred to as the ruler of Nīlapura in another verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[6] and felt that Nīlapura could possibly be connected with a locality mentioned as Bappanīla in certain verses in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Nīla suggesting connection with Nīlapura while Bappa could be connected with Babbāpura.[7]

Writing the history of the Jammu State, Hutchison and Vogel found the first historical mention of this state under the

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.574-75.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.585-86. Malla was Kalaśa's brother from another branch of the Lohara family.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.588-90. For Kalaśa of Vallāpura, cf., *Rājat.*, VII.220.
[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.588-90, note.
[5] *Rājat.*, VIII.538. See Stein's Addenda to the text ed., p. 295.
[6] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol.I, VII.588-90, note.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.253, note.

name of Durgara in two Chamba copper-plate title deeds of the eleventh century, which actually refer to events that took place in the early part of the tenth century. This gave them the evidence that the state was in existence and was ruled by its own chiefs. They felt surprised that while many other hill states like Campā, Vallāpura (Ballawar), Trigarta (Kangra) and others are mentioned, there is no reference to Durgara in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[1] The explanation for this fact, according to Vogel, is that the state was referred to under the name of its capital, which was evidently at Babbāpura, now Babor, near the left bank of the Tawi, some 17 miles east of Jammu.[2] The derivation of the modern name Babor from Babbāpura is taken on the analogy of other similar place-names ending in *pura* in the hills, such as Balor derived from Vallāpura, Brahmor from Brahmapura, and Manglor from Maṅgalapura.[3] This was further strengthened by the existence of a defaced inscription in Śāradā characters of the type of Campā copper-plates (Baijnāth *praśastis*) which are dated in Śaka 1126 or A.D. 1204.[4] The discovery of a copper coin from the Babor site and its identification by R. Burn with the coins of King Kalaśa of Kashmir is, as pointed out by Vogel, particularly interesting in connection with Kalhaṇa's first mention of Babbāpura in the reign of King Kalaśa of Kashmir.[5] The name of Kīrtidhara is found in the *vaṁśāvalī* just about A.D. 1070-90. Thus from the prominent position given to this ruler,[6] and from all the sound reasons put forward by Vogel, we are led to believe that he was no other than the king of Jammu territory, the capital of which was then at Babor, the ancient Babbāpura. The name of this *rājā* as given in the list supplied by Kalhaṇa is Kīrti and not Kīrtirāja, for he uses the latter name

[1] Hutchison & Vogel, *JPHS*, vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 10f; *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 403-409,

[2] Drew, F., *Jummoo.*, p. 87. There are the ruins of three old Hindu temples of an unknown age—the buildings being of great solidity and considerable beauty.

[3] Hutchison & Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 104; *JRAS*, 1907, p. 404.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 97ff.

[5] *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 405-406.

[6] *Rājat.*, VII.582, 588. It is interesting to note here that in Dogri language *babba* is the term used for 'father'.

for the *rājā* of Nīlapura. The abbreviation from Kīrtidhara to Kīrti is quite possible. Kalhaṇa never makes such an abbreviation in respect of the name of Kīrtirāja of Nīlapura.[1] From a previous reference to this *rājā*, Stein's suggestion would seem quite possible, but on the basis of the evidence supplied by Vogel we are quite convinced that this was none other than King Kīrti of Babbāpura. Āsaṭa, the king of Campā, is mentioned in the inscriptions and in the genealogical list of Campā kings.[2]

The territories and names of the other rulers are well known. Utkarṣa, the ruler of Lohara, was the younger son of Kalaśa and, as a feudatory of the king of Kashmir, he also came to pay homage. On the reference to Kānda as lying on the road from Bhadrāvakāśa (modern Bhadrawah) to Kashmir, Stein conjectured that Kānda was the name of one of the hill districts immediately to the south-east of Kashmir.[3]

The presence of particularly all the known *rājās* of Kalaśa's time who came to pay homage to him as feudatories or as friendly neighbours shows the great importance of the kingdom of Kashmir in connection with the adjoining hill territories in medieval times. The hospitality shown by the king of Kashmir also signifies their good relations.

In a recent study on Kashmir it has, however, been doubted whether the assembly of hill-*rājās* mentioned to have been convened by King Kalaśa could ever have met at all owing to the winter season.[4] Keeping in view the veracity and accuracy of Kalhaṇa's statements for the reigns of the kings immediately preceding his own times, for which he evidently got information from his father, Campaka, the lord of the 'gate' *(dvārapati)* during the reign of ill-fated King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), one is apt to believe his statement. Moreover, the study of the general geography of Kashmir, the various routes leading to the Valley

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.588-90, note.

[2] *Arch. Survey.*, vol. XIV, p. 114.

[3] *Ibid.*, Cf. *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. XV, p. 72. The distance between the towns of Chamba and Bhadrawah is 64 miles. From Bhadrawah, Islamabad (the ancient Anantanāga) in the Kashamir Valley can be reached by way of Kishtwar, the ancient Kāṣṭhavāṭa. (Vogel, *Ant. Chamba*, p. 23).

[4] Kapur, M. L., *ERAK*, pp. 116-17.

and the historical references to the kings using these routes during winter months not only for travelling but even for expeditions leave no scope for doubt about King Kalaśa's convening of an assembly of the adjoining kings.[1]

The rest of the history of Kalaśa is full of internal troubles, especially owing to the disaffection of his son Harṣa, who formed a plot to kill his father. On the conspiracy becoming known to Kalaśa, Harṣa was imprisoned and Utkarṣa, Kalaśa's younger son, was brought from Lohara and anointed king of Kahsmir on Kalaśa's last illness and death in A.D.1089.[2]

After Kalaśa's death in A.D.1089, Utkarṣa, the younger brother of Harṣa, was crowned,[3] but Vijayamalla, another son of Kalaśa from Queen Padmaśrī, stood in opposition.[4] The king tried to appease him by promising him the same daily allowances which his elder brother Harṣa had received from his father. Harṣa, the rightful heir to the throne, was kept in a guarded prison where, apprehensive of his personal safety, he managed to secure the good offices of his younger half-brother Vijayamalla.[5] Utkarṣa's inefficiency and parsimonious conduct soon alienated the feelings of his court and subjects who longed to see the magnanimous Harṣa on the throne.[6] Encouraged by these developments, Vijayamalla rose in open rebellion and attacked King Utkarṣa in the capital. This rising induced Utkarṣa to plan the murder of Harṣa, but his cowardice and vacillation stood in his way and, in his nervousness, he gave wrong orders which led to Harṣa's release. The confusion and tumult that followed gave an opportunity to Harṣa to seize the throne.[7] Utkarṣa was made a captive in the palace where he committed suicide after a reign of twenty-two days only.[8]

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.47; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII.831, note; 884, 1051, note; 1665-66, note; pp. 292-93, p. 292, note 19.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.698-703.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.729.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII.731.

[5] *Ibid.*, VII.750-55.

[6] *Ibid.*, VII.732-35, 773-74.

[7] *Ibid.*, VII.829.

[8] *Ibid.*, VII.833-52.

Thus came to the throne King Harṣa, the last great king of the first Lohara dynasty, who ruled from A.D. 1089 to 1101. In some ways resembling Muhammad Tughlaq of medieval India and Stuart king James I of England, Harṣa stands as a striking figure among the medieval Hindu rulers of Kashmir. At the commencement of his reign he showed wise forbearance by keeping his father's ministers in their original posts.[1] He placed his younger half-bother Jayarāja at the head of the host of chamberlains[2] and made Vijayamalla, his other half-brother, his chief adviser in all the affairs of state.[3] This very Vijayamalla began to lust for the throne and conspired to kill Harṣa. The conspiracy, however, leaked out and Vijayamalla had to seek refuge in the territory of the Daradas in the north of Kashmir where he was welcomed by Vidyādhara Śāhi, the Darada ruler. Later, in an attempt to lead an expedition against Kashmir, Vijayamalla was killed by an avalanche.[4]

Being free from the danger from Vijayamalla, Harṣa started his elaborate scheme of introducing elegant fashions in dresses and ornaments in the attire of his courtiers and himself. The magnificence reached its culmination with the introduction of the *dākṣiṇātya* fashions and the adoption of the coin-types *(taṅka)* from the south.[5] Such was the splendour that he bestowed on his courtiers and scholars that it is said that Bilhaṇa, who was a chief *paṇḍita* at the court of the Cālukya King Tribhuvanamalla VI, now regretted having left Kashmir during the reign of King Kalaśa.[6] The introduction of a south Indian coin-type has been proved by the numismatic evidence,[7] while the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa testifies to his being in court of the Cālukya king, Tribhuvanamalla.[8] Thus we can believe that Kalhaṇa's conventional description of the magnificence of

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.886ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.896.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.899-912.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.913, 916.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.925ff.
[6] *Ibid.*. VII.935-37.
[7] Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 34, plate V.22, 23.
[8] *Vikramāṅka.*, Intro., pp.6ff.

the court has a factual basis. Harṣa also gave lavish gifts to Brahmins. He had been well-known for his learning and love for the learned even before he came to the throne,[1] and had entertained his father in his court with his poetic compositions and musical performances. Kalhaṇa also records that he used to provide the scholars out of his own meagre funds as a prince.[2] The parsimonious conduct of Kalaśa and Utkarṣa and the criticism that the latter met with from the subjects, who referred to him as a miserly Khaśa, must have further encouraged Harṣa.[3] The scanty allowances that he received as a prince from his father seem to have caused a psychological reaction on his coming to the throne, and his excessive gifts to the poets and scholars suggest that by extravagant generosity he relieved his pent up feelings at the first opportunity. The introduction of the new fashions stands testimony to his elegant tastes but the introduction of the coin-type from the south and the existence of his silver and gold coinage do not necessarily indicate any general affluence and prosperity during his reign, but rather his extravagance in spending the wealth stored in the royal treasury.

Harṣa also attempted foreign expeditions in order to assert the authority of Kashmir in the neighbouring territories. We have already seen that there was internal trouble over the succession to the throne in Rājapurī and King Kalaśa, Harṣa's father, had been quite successful in settling the dispute in favour of Saṁgrāmapāla. We have also seen that King Saṁgrāmapāla attended the *darbār* of hill-*rajās* in Kashmir in A.D. 1087-88,[4] but the relations between the two kingdoms appear to have been strained during the reign of King Harṣa,[5] when an expedition was sent to Rājapurī under Sunna,[6] with no apparent success. A later expedition, led by the commander-in-chief,

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.610-11.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.611-13.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.773-74.
[4] *Supra*, p. 42.
[5] *Rājat.*, VII.967-91.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.968.

Thus came to the throne King Harṣa, the last great king of the first Lohara dynasty, who ruled from A.D. 1089 to 1101. In some ways resembling Muhammad Tughlaq of medieval India and Stuart king James I of England, Harṣa stands as a striking figure among the medieval Hindu rulers of Kashmir. At the commencement of his reign he showed wise forbearance by keeping his father's ministers in their original posts.[1] He placed his younger half-bother Jayarāja at the head of the host of chamberlains[2] and made Vijayamalla, his other half-brother, his chief adviser in all the affairs of state.[3] This very Vijayamalla began to lust for the throne and conspired to kill Harṣa. The conspiracy, however, leaked out and Vijayamalla had to seek refuge in the territory of the Daradas in the north of Kashmir where he was welcomed by Vidyādhara Śāhi, the Darada ruler. Later, in an attempt to lead an expedition against Kashmir, Vijayamalla was killed by an avalanche.[4]

Being free from the danger from Vijayamalla, Harṣa started his elaborate scheme of introducing elegant fashions in dresses and ornaments in the attire of his courtiers and himself. The magnificence reached its culmination with the introduction of the *dākṣiṇātya* fashions and the adoption of the coin-types *(taṅka)* from the south.[5] Such was the splendour that he bestowed on his courtiers and scholars that it is said that Bilhaṇa, who was a chief *paṇḍita* at the court of the Cālukya King Tribhuvanamalla VI, now regretted having left Kashmir during the reign of King Kalaśa.[6] The introduction of a south Indian coin-type has been proved by the numismatic evidence,[7] while the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa testifies to his being in court of the Cālukya king, Tribhuvanamalla.[8] Thus we can believe that Kalhaṇa's conventional description of the magnificence of

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.886ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.896.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.899-912.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.913, 916.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.925ff.
[6] *Ibid.*. VII.935-37.
[7] Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 34, plate V.22, 23.
[8] *Vikramāṅka.*, Intro., pp.6ff.

the court has a factual basis. Harṣa also gave lavish gifts to Brahmins. He had been well-known for his learning and love for the learned even before he came to the throne,[1] and had entertained his father in his court with his poetic compositions and musical performances. Kalhaṇa also records that he used to provide the scholars out of his own meagre funds as a prince.[2] The parsimonious conduct of Kalaśa and Utkarṣa and the criticism that the latter met with from the subjects, who referred to him as a miserly Khaśa, must have further encouraged Harṣa.[3] The scanty allowances that he received as a prince from his father seem to have caused a psychological reaction on his coming to the throne, and his excessive gifts to the poets and scholars suggest that by extravagant generosity he relieved his pent up feelings at the first opportunity. The introduction of the new fashions stands testimony to his elegant tastes but the introduction of the coin-type from the south and the existence of his silver and gold coinage do not necessarily indicate any general affluence and prosperity during his reign, but rather his extravagance in spending the wealth stored in the royal treasury.

Harṣa also attempted foreign expeditions in order to assert the authority of Kashmir in the neighbouring territories. We have already seen that there was internal trouble over the succession to the throne in Rājapurī and King Kalaśa, Harṣa's father, had been quite successful in settling the dispute in favour of Saṁgrāmapāla. We have also seen that King Saṁgrāmapāla attended the *darbār* of hill-*rajās* in Kashmir in A.D. 1087-88,[4] but the relations between the two kingdoms appear to have been strained during the reign of King Harṣa,[5] when an expedition was sent to Rājapurī under Sunna,[6] with no apparent success. A later expedition, led by the commander-in-chief,

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.610-11.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.611-13.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.773-74.
[4] *Supra*, p. 42.
[5] *Rājat.*, VII.967-91.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.968.

Kandarpa, defeated the Rājapurī forces and compelled the ruler to pay tribute.[1] The success that Kandarpa attained in Rājapurī roused the jealousies of the other ministers, and the evil counsellors who now surrounded Harṣa managed to secure the disgrace and ultimately the banishment of this great and faithful general.[2]

The mutual jealousies at the court and the existence of treacherous officers around Harṣa encouraged Jayarāja, his younger half-brother, who was the son of a concubine of Kalaśa and who, as we have stated before, had been placed at the head of the chamberlains by the king, to enter into a dangerous conspiracy to kill Harṣa.[3] His associate in all this arrangement was Dhammaṭa, son of Tanvaṅga from another branch of the Lohara family.[4] Harṣa came to know of their intentions, succeeded in sowing dissension between the two conspirators, and then had Jayarāja executed.[5] After cruelly putting Jayarāja to death in the year A.D. 1095, he turned upon Dhammaṭa and had him also killed.[6] Harṣa seems to have become so desperate at the conduct of these relatives, whom he had raised to good positions and had treated affectionately, that he now planned to put an end to all possible dangers to his life and throne. He thus had Dhammaṭa's four sons—Tulla, Vijayarāja, Bulla and Gulla—killed.[7] Ḍomba, the elder son of Utkarṣa, was also killed along with Jayamalla, the son of Harṣa's younger brother Vijayamalla.[8]

Harṣa's extravagant expenditure on the magnificence of the court and the huge expense incurred on the maintenance of troops, led to a serious drain on his treasury and grave financial troubles.[9] He now planned to meet them by looting the

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.971-91.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.996ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1011-15.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1013.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1019-32.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.1046-49.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.1065. See *Infra*, Genealogical Table I, part B.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII.1068, 1069.
[9] *Ibid.*, VII.1081ff.

temple treasures. Not content with this, he started the desecration of the images and melting them down for financial purposes.[1] We have dealt with the whole question of the defilement of the images of gods and the spoliation of the wealth of the temples separately.[2] He also imposed excessive taxes on the people until even the night-soil used as manure was taxed.[3] This was followed by the excessive influence of parasites and impostrors. Harṣa is said to have become so debauched that he committed incest with his own cousins and father's wives.[4] The king's perversion and depravity had led him to introduce three hundred and sixty women of doubtful character in his seraglio.[5]

It was amidst this atmosphere of debauchery and dissipation that Harṣa led another expedition against Rājapurī. The trouble in this territory seems to have continued even after its conquest at the hands of Kandarpa.[6] We find King Harṣa first carrying on negotiations through envoys and later himself leading an expedition.[7] The fortress of Pṛthvīgiri was besieged, and the king of Rājapurī offered large tribute and supplies in order to save the garrison, but Harṣa did not agree to raise the siege. Later, Harṣa's treacherous army-commander *(daṇḍanāyaka)*, Sunna, who was bribed by the king of Rājapurī, instigated the soldiers to demand heavy marching allowances and spread rumours of an invasion of Kashmir by the Turuṣkas. Apprehensive of the ruin of his own kingdom, Harṣa was compelled to raise the siege and flee in despair.[8] After Harṣa's retreat from Rājapurī, Sahela, the *mahattama*,[9] who had embezzled the king's revenue, instigated him to lead an expedition against the Daradas and to seize from them the fort of Dugdhaghāṭa.[10] This

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1091ff.
[2] *Infra*, ch. III.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Rājat.*, VII.1146-48.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.961-64.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.971-91.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.1150-59.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII.1159.
[9] *Infra*, ch. II.
[10] *Rājat.*, VII.1170-71.

fort had fallen into the hands of the Daradas after the death of the Ḍāmara Lakkanacandra, who had held it during the reign of King Kalaśa. Harṣa now endeavoured to capture it.[1] The expedition was undertaken on a report that the garrison's water supply was exhausted due to drought.[2] The king despatched all his feudatories to besiege the fort but it was very difficult to stand the onslaught of the Daradas.[3] The situation grew worse because of the heavy rain which made fighting difficult.[4] The forces were compelled to retreat. Numberless Kashmiri soldiers were captured or slain, but the situation was saved by the bravery of Malla's two sons, Uccala and Sussala, who endeavoured to save the army and who were destined to become the future kings of the second Lohara dynasty. These two showed great bravery and thus won the hearts of the subjects.[5] All these events fall between the years A.D. 1095 and 1099. The expedition to Dugdhaghāṭa was sent in A.D. 1098 while the unsuccessful expedition to Rājapurī may be placed between A.D. 1096 and 1098.[6]

These disastrous expeditions were followed by natural calamities. While a plague was raging and robbers were everywhere harassing the subjects, there occurred a disastrous flood which resulted in a severe famine, so that the rivers were all full of dead bodies.[7] The king, instead of relieving the distress of the subjects, imposed heavier taxes on them.[8] These financial exactions were followed by the persecution of the Ḍāmaras of Maḍavarājya and Kramarājya,[9] and those who brought to the king the heads of the Ḍāmaras were honoured with rich gifts. So ruthlessly did Harṣa persecute them that he did not even spare their women if they resisted. Some of them fled to

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1172-73.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.1175-76.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1180-81.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1186.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1196-99.
[6] Cf. *Rājat.*, VII.1039, 1219.
[7] *Rājat.*, VII.1218-22.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII.1225.
[9] *Ibid.*, VII.1227-35.

the neighbouring territories and were converted to Mohammedanism. This persecution of the landed aristocracy turned them desperately against King Harṣa and, collecting their forces, they decided to offer united resistance.[1] The rest of the history of Harṣa's reign is a long story of the struggle by Uccala and Sussala, the sons of Malla (who were descended from a side branch of the Lohara dynasty), to gain the throne of Kashmir with the help of the king of Rājapurī and the disaffected Ḍāmaras of Kashmir. Instigated by his minister, Lakṣmīdhara, Harṣa decided to kill both of them.[2] The plan, however, leaked out and both the brothers managed to escape in the autumn of A.D. 1100. Uccala took refuge with King Saṁgrāmapāla of Rājapurī (Rajauri) and Sussala took shelter with King Kalha of Kaliñjara—a hill-territory to the south of Kashmir.[3] Uccala's presence in Rājapurī was a constant source of fear to Harṣa. So he offered huge sums of money to King Saṁgrāmapāla to kill him. Rather than removing the danger these overtures exposed Harṣa's weakness and led the king of Rājapurī to show more favours to Uccala. Kalhaṇa writes : "Those of Rājapurī are no well-wishers of Kashmir. What need be said of the intrigues which arose when a mighty opponent of the Kashmirian ruler had arrived amongst them."[4] Thus the situation turned out to be very grave when a rival claimant to the throne of Kashmir reached the court of a powerful enemy, instigated and helped by the desperately offended landed aristocracy. Harṣa now had recourse to diplomacy. He bribed a chief *(ṭhakkura)* of Rājapurī in order to sow dissension between Saṁgrāmapāla and Uccala.[5] The scheme worked well at first, but when Kalaśarāja, the *ṭhakkura* of Rājapurī, with the connivance of the king, was planning to capture Uccala and imprison him in the fortress of Rājapurī, the plan was divulged to the latter through his trusted friends.[6] Kalaśarāja's soldiers, however, attacked Uccala, but the

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1227-41.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII. 1248-49.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII. 1254-56.
[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII. 1261.
[5] *Rājat.*, VII, 1266-68.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.1270-75.

fighting was stopped through the intercession of some of the chief persons of Rājapurī.[1] Thereafter Uccala sent some of his helpers ahead and himself planned to march on to Kashmir through Kramarājya.[2] Some of the disaffected Ḍāmaras and Khāśikas from the hills joined Uccala on the way.[3] The Ḍāmaras of Kramarājya were now in open rebellion and those of Maḍavarājya also rose under the leadership of Ānanda, the maternal-uncle of Uccala.[4] At such a critical juncture when Uccala was marching fast, King Harṣa's officers did not take quick action against the rebels. After defeating Sahela, the commander-in-chief of King Harṣa's army, Uccala established himself at Parihāsapura.[5] Harṣa desperately marched himself and bravely routed Uccala's forces but committed a great blunder in not pursuing the enemy until he was utterly defeated.[6] This gave Uccala another chance to gather up his strength in Kramarājya.[7] Uccala had hardly been routed when Sussala attacked Harṣa from the south through the frontier guard-station of Śūrapura (Hurapor) on the Pir Panjal route and pushed the royal forces towards the capital.[8] The brave commander-in-chief Candrarāja checked Sussala's advance, but the latter's attack encouraged Uccala and also diverted the strength of the king's defence into two opposite directions.[9] As the the Ḍāmaras were mostly on foot, Uccala, fearing Harṣa's cavalry, marched across the mountains into the Indus valley. Thus he took the king unawares and defeating the royal army marched towards the capital.[10] The Brahmins of Hiraṇyapura (modern Ranyil) assembled together and consecrated him as king.[11]

Treachery and treason at Harṣa's court aggravated the

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1294-96.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.1298ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1302.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1317.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1319-26.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.1331-40.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.1341.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII.1340-48.
[9] *Ibid.*, VII.1352-59.
[10] *Ibid.*, VII.1359-85.
[11] *Ibid.*

situation. Some of his ministers now advised him to seek shelter in the Lohara castle.[1] Harṣa refused this advice and did not even allow his son Bhoja to seek shelter there.[2] The *tantrin* troops of the king, when sent to oppose the enemy, claimed marching allowances even if they stayed in the city.[3] Desperate over these troubles and instigated by the Śāhi queens, Harṣa killed Malla, the father of the rebels Uccala and Sussala, in the month of Bhādrapada of A.D. 1101.[4] This roused the anger of Malla's sons, who carried on the struggle with greater vigour. Sussala, who was advancing from the south-east, threw himself upon Vijayeśvara and, defeating the king's general, Candrarāja, advanced to Srinagar. Harṣa's brave son, Bhoja, managed to defeat Sussala but in the meantime Uccala entered the capital from the north.[5] Events might have had a different course, had not Bhoja's efforts been frustrated by the treachery of the general, Sunna, and Nāga, the prefect of the city,[6] who threw open the gates of Srinagar to Uccala. After some resistance at the head of the bridge of boats over the Jhelum, Harṣa was driven back into the palace, which was then set on fire. Bhoja took to flight.[7] Only Campaka, Kalhaṇa's father, Prayāga, Harṣa's personal servant who had remained faithful to him through all his troubles and turmoils, and a cook, Mukta, remained with the king. He sent away Campaka to search for his son Bhoja. Being completely deserted by all his followers, Harṣa became utterly confused and fled, hiding himself in the hut of a base mendicant. It was in that wretched shelter that Harṣa got the terrible news of the death of his son Bhoja. His identity being revealed, he was betrayed and ultimately mercilessly killed by the Ḍāmaras[8] at the age of forty-two years and eight months. The rule of the first Lohara dynasty thus came to an end in A.D. 1101.

[1] *Rājat.*, VII. 1386-87.
[2] *Infra*, ch. III; *Rājat.*, VII.1452.
[3] *Rājat.*, VII.1457.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII. 1469-70, 1484.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1497, 1537-40.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.1540-42.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.1550-66.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII.1586-1622, 1709-11.

On this remarkable and ill-fated king, we cite the words of Kalhaṇa. Thus Kalhaṇa asks : "How is it to be related, that story of King Harṣa which has seen the rise of all enterprises and yet tells of all failures; which brings to light all (kinds of) settled plans and yet shows the absence of policy; which displays an excessive assertion of ruling power and yet has witnessed excessive disregard of orders; which (tells) of excessive abundance of liberality and of (equally) excessive persistence in confiscation; which gives delight by an abundant (display of) compassion and shocks by the super-abundance of murders; which is rendered charming by the redundance of pious works and soiled by the super-abundance of sins; which is attractive on all sides and yet repulsive, worthy of praise and deserving of blame; which sensible men must magnify and deride; regard with love and yet feel aggrieved at; which is to be blessed and to be condemned, worthy of memory and yet to be dismissed from the mind ?"[1]

It is interesting to see here a view of history as a science dealing with the mind of man. Such a concept is appropriate to the chronicler of the history of a despotic monarchy where there is one man trying to mould affairs according to his own schemes, good or bad, or by his own whims and caprices—sometimes a curious medley of motives and their effects. It happened in England with the coming of the Stuarts. James I and his ideas about the divinity of kings and the "law of free monarchies" when put into practice, though in different circumstances and environment, created a constant struggle culminating into civil war and regicide.[2] It is interesting to note that James I came from Scotland while Harṣa's dynasty was from the hill castle of Lohara. James was a highly intellectual man while Harṣa's literary accomplishments are repeatedly mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

We repeat further the words of Kalhaṇa, which he puts into the mouth of the king himself : "Nobody else, I know, will

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.869-73.

[2] We do not write the above as an instance of exact parallels but as an interesting reminiscence of the idealism of a man at the helm and of despotism in its practical working.

reign with such wide aims as I have reigned in this late period; death and Kubera sit upon the lips of kings, this saying was true of me alone in this Kali Yuga;[1] for the sake of maintaining the people, I, though versed in a combination of sciences, affected to be (solely) a producer of riches *(śrīgarbha)*, this has been the cause of my confusion;[2] Uccala too, whose intellect might be gathered on the tip of a finger, will mock my actions,"[3] and last of all he says : "The fire which has risen from the burning pains of the subjects, does not go out until it has consumed the king's race, fortune and life."[4]

Thus all the characteristic features of Harṣa's reign are expressed through the king himself. He was a great luminary of his time; he had played the role of Kubera (the god of Wealth) as a bestower of splendour and magnificence to his court, yet he had killed his subjects, the Ḍāmaras, like the god of Death. The amassing of wealth by all possible means had been his main aim, pursuing which he had no scruples even about confiscating the wealth of the temples and melting the divine images. Yet to his utter disgust, he saw the results of his policy before his very eyes, and realized that they had been the cause of his utter misfortune. He killed all the possible rival claimants to the throne, yet did not realise the evil effect of his actions on the remaining members of the Lohara family. While killing the Ḍāmaras he did not realize that they were also his subjects; while amassing riches by foul means he did not understand the horror which it would cause to the feelings of his religious-minded subjects. He gave magnificence to his court, but did not realize that the magnificence of the court was not the magnificence of the public at large. Thus concluded a reign which started with high hopes but came to an ignominious end. We might excuse Harṣa somewhat, in view of the wide aims with which he started his reign and his sincerity and affection for his relatives, but it is difficult to excuse him as a ruler who went to an extreme limit to execute his aims without realizing their deeper effects and the general

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1416-17.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.1424.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1425.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1582.

conditions of his country He did not realize the importance of promptitude and swiftness of action needed of a statesman. The very magnificence created mutual jealousies which resulted in the disaffection of his officers and courtiers and became the cause of the downfall of the first Lohara dynasty. The subjects at large, including the Brahmins, were totally alienated by his ruthless policy.

Then came to the throne Uccala, the elder son of Malla, as the first king of the second Lohara dynasty. He ruled from A.D. 1101 to 11. There were three great problems which he had to face just at the commencement of his reign : (i) the rivalry of his brother Sussala; (ii) the powerful landed aristocracy—the Ḍāmaras who had played a great part in the downfall of the first Lohara dynasty; and (iii) an empty treasury. He settled the first by making Sussala an independent ruler of Lohara.[1] The struggle between the two rival dynasties had brought the Ḍāmaras into the forefront. They had played a great role in the fight against Harṣa. We have seen that in this great struggle, even Rājapurī had kept aloof, and it was actually only through the help of the Ḍāmaras that Uccala had been successful in bringing about the downfall of the first Lohara dynasty. These constant wars had made them quite turbulent and they became a great source of danger to the monarchy in Kashmir. Remembering their past services, Uccala at first put them in high offices but later he created mutual jealousies among them and employed cunning diplomacy to bring about their deaths. By arranging duels between them he managed to get many of them killed.[2]

The next task before Uccala was the reorganisation of the internal administration, which had been greatly disrupted during the turbulent period at the end of Harṣa's reign. The first step towards this aim was to win over the feelings of the public by redressing their grievances by putting an end to all cases of voluntary starvation *(prāyopaveśa)* which was so common in medieval Kashmir as a protest against injustice.[3] Kalhaṇa has related

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII. 8.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.39ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.51.

an anecdote of this king's Solomon-like justice.[1] To further improve the administration as well as the treasury, he curbed the powers of the Kāyasthas (civil servants).[2]

Despite all these measures, the history of Uccala's reign is a long story of the repeated resurgence of problems. Sussala never rested till he got the throne of Kashmir, while the Ḍāmaras were a constant source of trouble. Corruption and rebellion were rampant. The rebellion against Harṣa encouraged other rival claimants and pretenders to the throne of Kashmir. Thus the Darada ruler put forth the claims of one of king Kalaśa's sons.[3] Uccala diplomatically managed to induce the Daradas to retire to their own territory. The next great rival was Bhikṣācara, the grandson of Harṣa, who had escaped and had been brought up by the Parmāra King Naravarman of Malwa (*c.* A.D. 1097-1111).[4] Even the city prefect, Chuḍḍa, laid claim to the throne of Kashmir as a descendant of King Yaśaskara,[5] and on 8th December, A.D. 1111, he and his brother murdered the king.[6] Raḍḍa, one of the brothers of Chuḍḍa, now became the king assuming the name of Śaṅkharāja, but was put to death by Gargacandra, the leading Ḍāmara of Lahara district.[7] Salhaṇa, a half-brother of Uccala, was put on the throne,[8] but the news of Uccala's death brought Sussala to Kashmir. Gargacandra fought against him and put him to flight.[9] Salhaṇa was devoid of political wisdom or valour, cunning or straightforwardness, liberality or greed, and hence Gargacandra became the real king during the short reign of this puppet.[10] Salhaṇa's attempt to break the power of Gargacandra threw him into the arms of Sussala, who, after some struggle, succeeded in defeating and capturing Salhaṇa after a short reign

[1] *Infra.*, ch. III.
[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.85ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.209.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII,225ff.; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII. 228, note.
[5] *Rājat.*, VIII.256ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.308ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.342-48.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.373ff.
[9] *Ibid.*, VIII.379-411.
[10] *Ibid.*, VIII.415ff.

of about four months, in the spring of A.D. 1112.[1]

Sussala's character is described by Kalhaṇa as being like that of Uccala in many respects but his long fruitless struggles seem to have added to his natural harshness and cruelty.[2] Knowing the condition of the depleted treasury, he hoarded the treasure in the family stronghold of Lohara. His rule is one long tale of internal troubles caused by rebellion of the powerful Ḍāmaras whom he in vain endeavoured to subdue completely.

Very soon after his accession, Sussala had to face the rising of the Ḍāmaras under Gargacandra.[3] He had to struggle hard to break their strength. He imprisoned the rivals Salhaṇa and Lothana, and renewed his alliance with the chiefs of the neighbouring hill tracts. At this time Sahasramaṅgala and other nobles, whom Sussala had exiled, made attempts to enter Kashmir from Chenab valley.[4] Another danger that Sussala had to face was Bhikṣācara. As noted above, he had escaped from Kashmir as a small child and now met a party of hill chiefs from Campā, Babbāpura, Vallāpura[5] and adjacent valleys. They entered into marriage alliances with him, but the plans that they made for the invasion of Kashmir could not be executed because of their own internal feuds.[6] In the short interval of rest after this, Sussala diverted his attention towards exacting revenue, which we have dealt with elsewhere.[7]

Suspicious of the great power of Gargacandra, Sussala raised a rival in Mallakoṣṭha, a Ḍāmara of Lahara. After a hard fight in the Indus valley, Gargacandra was forced to surrender and was later strangled to death along with his sons[8] in A.D. 1118.

About this time (A.D. 1118), there was again trouble in Rājapurī. We have already mentioned earlier that after the

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.450-80.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.482ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.502ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.534ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.538ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.549-57.
[7] *Infra*, ch. III
[8] *Rājat.*, VIII.605-16.

death of Saṁgrāmapāla there had been friction over succession there. King Uccala had interfered in the affair and, in order to have closer ties with this kingdom, had given his daughter in marriage to King Somapāla.[1] Now Somapāla put his elder brother Pratāpapāla to death, at which Nāgapāla, the younger half-brother of Somapāla, murdered the minister, who had murdered Pratāpapāla and fled to Kashmir for protection.[2] Enraged at the action of Somapāla, King Sussala did not accept his friendly overtures and decided to wage war against him. Baffled in his attempts at conciliation, Somapāla sought alliance with Bhikṣācara, the grandson of Harṣa, who had established himself at Vallāpura (modern Ballawar). This made matters worse and hastened Sussala's attack on Somapāla.[3] Thus we find that both Rājapurī and Kashmir became centres of intrigues and safe refuges for the rival claimants to each other's thrones. In the ensuing fight King Somapāla was defeated and he fled away. Sussala installed Nāgapala on the throne of Rājapurī in the autumn of A.D. 1118. Kalhaṇa tells us that King Sussala stayed in Rājapurī for seven months causing terror to his various enemies, which shows that the trouble did not end with the defeat of Somapāla and the situation necessitated Sussala's constant stay there.[4] Despite this protracted stay he could not win the feelings of the subjects who were attached to Somapāla, and when in the spring of A.D. 1119 Sussala returned to Kashmir, Nāgapāla, his *protégé*, lost his throne and had to follow him.[5] It appears from the narrative that Sussala's long stay in Rājapurī and the ultimate failure of the whole project of putting a puppet ruler on the throne of this kingdom had cost him much. After his return to Kashmir he started oppressing the subjects, reduced his expenditure, and made new appointments, which resulted in much trouble and disintegration in the internal affairs of Kashmir. The new ministers lacked strength and there was heavy loss to the exchequer by the sudden change in

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.288-91.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.619-20.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.621-24.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.624.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.634-35.

administration.[1]

This policy resulted in discontent and a rebellion of the Ḍāmaras in Lahara. The commander-in-chief, Tilaka, was able to put down the rebellion but lack of regard from the king made this general disaffected and slack in his duties.[2] In the beginning of the year A.D. 1120 there was a great rising of the Ḍāmaras, who carried off the king's horses. The king showed great cruelty, killed them and even dishonoured their women. Vijaya and Mallakoṣṭha, the great Ḍāmaras of the time, now brought Bhikṣācara to Kashmir, by the route of Viṣlāṭā. Vijaya was killed by the commander-in-chief, but Mallakoṣṭha sent his own troops to help Bhikṣācara.[3] The king in his folly now told the disaffected officers to let Bhikṣācara enter the city so that he might slay him, but this resulted in Bhikṣācara's gaining fame, making the people believe that it was owing to king's inability that he entered unopposed. As he approached Srinagar various rumours spread all over Kashmir about Bhikṣācara's greatness and in the summer of A.D.1120 he actually won a victory over King Sussala. The Ḍāmaras of Lahara, Khaḍūvī and Holaḍā, all joined together and besieged Srinagar. The king offered brave resistance, but owing to the disaffection of the members of the inner court *(ābhyantara)*, and the faithlessness of the commander-in-chief, his diplomatic efforts proved useless. The rebellion of the royal troops broke the back of his defences and in the winter of A.D. 1120, he was compelled to seek shelter and safety in Lohara.[4]

After Sussala's departure Bhikṣācara was installed as king, thus bringing about the restoration of the first Lohara dynasty. The city prefect, Janakasiṁha, and the commander-in-chief, Tilaka, respectively gave him their niece and daughter in marriage.[5]

Bhikṣācara had been brought to the throne owing to the mutual jealousies and lust for power of the Ḍāmaras, but he was

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.636-40.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.646-56.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.661ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.749ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.851, 860.

not a suitable person to be the king in those turbulent times. Inexperienced in the affairs of the state he left the regal power in the hands of Bimba, the Prime Minister (*sarvādhikārin*), and engaged himself in the pleasures of royalty.[1] The Ḍāmaras, whose conspiracy and revolt had been aimed at establishing a puppet ruler on the throne, had a free hand in the country. The strongest among them, especially Pṛthvīhara and Mallakoṣṭha, fought terrible battles among themselves and a reign of terror prevailed in the kingdom.[2] In the midst of these troubles Bhikṣācara's Prime Minister, Bimba, led an expedition to Lohara with the help of Somapāla, king of Rājapurī and some Turuṣkas—Muslims of the lower Punjab hills.[3] The Kashmir force was completely defeated by Sussala at Parṇotsa (modern Poonch), south of Lohara, and this success brought a reaction in his favour. The Ḍāmaras made secret contact with him and even the Brahmin corporations longed for the return of Sussala.[4]

In the summer of A.D. 1121, Sussala marched on Srinagar and entered the city unopposed. Under Pṛthvīhara's protection Bhikṣācara fled to Rājapurī and later settled in Puṣyāṇanāḍa (modern Pushian) at the southern foot of the Pir Panjal Pass. His attempts to defeat Sussala and his increasing energy created apprehension among the Ḍāmaras whose ambition was not to have a strong, but a weak and insignificant, ruler who would not be in any way a check to their power.[5] The treachery and weakness of his own officers now made Sussala employ many *rājaputras* from the hills to the south of Kashmir,[6] whose bravery and faithfulness helped him in holding his positions against the repeated attacks of Bhikṣācara and the rebelliou Ḍāmaras.[7] The Ḍāmaras were still a constant source of trouble to the ruling king and in the spring of A.D. 1123, they closely besieged

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.849ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.882ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.884ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.897ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.1028, 1032.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.1040, 1083-86.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.1104ff.

Srinagar.[1] This was followed by a huge conflagration in which the whole city was burnt and great stores of rice were destroyed. The Ḍāmaras blocked all communications with the villages and hence utter starvation and huge loss of life occurred in the city.[2] Exasperated by these calamities and troubles and the death of his beloved Queen Meghamañjarī, Sussala decided to abdicate in favour of his son Jayasiṁha, whom he called from Lohara. Jayasiṁha was crowned in the summer of A.D. 1123,[3] but the intriguers now played their hand again and made Sussala suspicious of his own son. Power, however, remained in Sussala's hands for the young king was kept in virtual captivity.[4]

We have stated earlier that Bhikṣācara was a constant source of trouble to the kings of the second Lohara dynasty. Sussala made a plot against this rival with Utpala, the treacherous agent of Tikka, a powerful Ḍāmara of Devasarasa (modern (Divasor) district. Utpala was actually working to destroy the old king and succeeded in murdering Sussala in the spring of A.D. 1128.[5]

With the murder of Sussala, Jayasiṁha, the last great ruler of the second Lohara dynasty, who was already king in name, gained full control of the government. The condition of the country was very precarious. The Ḍāmaras were a constant element of unrest, the resources of the country were totally exhausted owing to the constant struggles of the preceding reigns,[6] and there was continual danger from Bhikṣācara, who had found refuge with some of his powerful Ḍāmara supporters in the Śamālā (modern Hamal) district.[7] Besides, Jayasiṁha succeeded to the throne in the midst of an open rebellion.[8] He started his reign judiciously by proclamation of general amnesty, which was amply rewarded by winning him the support

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1155ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.1169ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.1217-32.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.1247ff.
[5] *Ibid.*,VIII, 1287-1348.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII, 1342ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII. 1383ff., 1517.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.1315ff.

of his subjects.[1] He also succeeded in enlisting the help of one of the most powerful Ḍāmaras, Pañcacandra, who had succeeded to his father Gargacandra's rich estates in Lahara (modern Lar) district.[2]

On the news of Sussala's murder, Bhikṣācara rapidly collected his troops and marched towards Srinagar, but excessive snowfall retarded his progress.[3] In the meantime Pañcacandra's troops, enlarged by detachments of mercenaries, wrought utter disaster in Bhikṣācara's army.[4] The Ḍāmaras of Khaḍūvī district who supported Jayasiṁha put down the chief adherents of Bhikṣācara while the new king's position in the capital and in much of the surrounding country was made secure by Sujji, a minister of the former king, who gave Jayasiṁha full support.[5]

On the melting of the snow Bhikṣācara once again made an attempt to recover the kingdom with the help of the Ḍāmaras. Sujji, the best of King Jayasiṁha's generals, met him on the bank of Gambhīrā[6] and defeated his forces. This victory was followed by a further succcess at Dāmodara.[7] The king also won over more Ḍāmaras to his side by the judicious bestowal of suitable grants and honours.[8] Bhikṣācara was thus forced to retire from Kashmir, and could get no help from the king of Rājapurī who had concluded a treaty with Jayasiṁha.[9]

Lakṣamaka, the chief chamberlain, who appears to have been the most influential minister during the early period of Jayasiṁha's reign, established a brief interval of peace from the Ḍāmaras during which Utpala, who had murdered Sussala,

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1377-81.

[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.1393-94.

[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.1392.

[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.1394-98.

[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.1402-22. Khaḍūvī is a district in the Vihī Pargana which adjoins Srinagar from the south-east.

[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.1497ff. Gambhīrā is the lowest part of the course of river Viśokā on its way to Vijayeśvara. (Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII.1510, note.)

[7] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII.1519, note. Dāmodara is modern Damodar Udar to the south of Srinagar.

[8] *Rājat.*, VIII.1523-24.

[9] *Ibid.*, VIII.1529ff.

was captured and executed.[1] This was again interrupted in the autumn of A.D. 1128 when Bhikṣācara again marched from the south but was defeated once again by the commander-in-chief Sujji.[2]

Despite the improvement in the political life of Kashmir, court intrigues and mutual jealousies continued among the ministers. The jealousy of Lakṣmaka and other courtiers so worked against Sujji that Jayasiṁha exiled him.[3] He went to Rājapurī where he entered into negotiations with Bhikṣācara. Luckily for the king, Bhikṣācara, without waiting for Sujji to join forces with him and expecting a rebellion of Ḍāmaras in Kashmir, marched to attack once again. Lakṣmaka's forces drove Bhikṣācara back to the castle of Bāṇaśālā held by a Khaśa chief, at the southern foot of the Banihal Pass. The king's troops besieged the castle and bribed the Khaśa allies of Bhikṣācara. Betrayed by his supporters the prince was killed in A.D. 1130.[4]

On the death of Bhikṣācara, it appeared as if the real danger to the king's position was over. But soon after, there was another trouble. This was the loss of the Lohara Castle.

Loṭhana, the brother of the ex-king Salhaṇa, had been kept in Lohara as a captive. With the help of some of the officers, this prince escaped from his prison and captured the fort along with its hoarded treasures.[5] Realising the danger from the loss of the family stronghold, Jayasiṁha sent a large army under Lakṣmaka to recapture it. The heat of the early summer and the spread of fever among the forces brought disaster. Sujji, the former minister of Jayasiṁha, who was now a trusted supporter of King Somapāla of Rājapurī, took advantage of this favourable opportunity and persuaded Somapāla to break his treaty with Jayasiṁha. Somapāla sent an expedition to Lohara.[6] The royal army was completely destroyed and the chamberlain, Lakṣmaka, was taken prisoner. We are told that

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1577ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.1587ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.1626ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.1665, 1702-5, 1764.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.1794ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.1865ff.

10,000 soldiers of the royal army died of fever alone.[1] Lakṣmaka was subsequently ransomed from Somapāla for 36 lakh *dinnāras*.[2]

Loṭhana thus became the ruler of Lohara with Sujji as his minister.[3] The presence of various members of the branches of the Lohara family always remained a source of trouble. In the winter of A.D. 1131, Loṭhana was deposed by Mallārjuna, a half-brother of Jayasiṁha, who had been kept as a prisoner in the Lohara Castle. Mallārjuna was, however, a feeble ruler and Jayasiṁha's troops soon intimidated him to agree to pay tribute.[4] Attempts of Loṭhana to depose Mallārjuna gave chance to the Ḍāmara Koṣṭheśvara, son of Pṛthvīhara, to establish his position strongly in the valley around Lohara.[5] At the deposition of Loṭhana, King Jayasiṁha had recalled Sujji from Lohara and had reinstated him in charge of the chief command of the army.[6] Sujji was able to defeat Mallārjuna, who now fled to Rājapurī. The intrigues of the courtiers again poisoned the king's mind against this minister who was treacherously murdered through one of his own officers in A.D. 1133. The murder of his relations soon followed.[7]

Jayasiṁha's chief enemies were now Mallārjuna and Koṣṭheśvara.[8] He tried to accomplish the murder of Koṣṭheśvara, but the plan failed and the latter fled and joined Mallārjuna.[9] They raised a further rebellion in Kashmir, but the king's troops compelled Koṣṭheśvara to come to terms with him, while Mallārjuna again fled.[10] In the autumn of A.D. 1135, Mallārjuna also surrendered. Thus one of the pretenders to the throne of Lohara was captured.[11]

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1906.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.1918.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.1921ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.1943ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.1989-2024.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.1985.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.2029-2152.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.2219.
[9] *Ibid.*, VIII.2201-19.
[10] *Ibid.*, VIII.2260.
[11] *Ibid.*, VIII.2309.

Jayasiṁha also endeavoured to extend his sway towards the north in the territory of the Daradas, on the death of their king, Yaśodhara.[1] The attempt, however, failed and added to Jayasiṁha's problems and encouraged Loṭhana, the old pretender to the throne of Lohara, by securing him an ally in the Daradas.[2] Alaṁkāracakra, a powerful Ḍāmara of Karṇāha (Karnah) in the upper Kishanganga, with the help of the Daradas, rose in rebellion, ostensibly in support of Loṭhana's cause.[3] Loṭhana, supported by Vigraharāja, a half-brother of Jayasiṁha, and Bhoja, son of King Salhaṇa, took up his position in Śiraḥśilākoṭṭa, a hill-castle of the Ḍāmara Alaṁkāracakra on the Kishanganga. King Jayasiṁha's forces besieged the castle. The food and water supplies of the defenders having become exhausted, Alaṁkāracakra bought his safety by delivering Loṭhana and Vigraharāja to the king in the spring of A.D. 1144.[4] Bhoja was kept by Alaṁkāra for future eventualities. Fearing the intentions of the Ḍāmara, Bhoja managed to escape to the Darada ruler, Viḍḍasīha, who received him hospitably. From the Darada territory Bhoja intrigued with the disaffected officers and the Ḍāmaras of Kashmir to raise a revolt in his favour.[5] Then he marched with the support of the Darada ruler and the *mleccha* (Mohammedan) chiefs from the upper Indus and reached the Mahāpadma lake.[6] Bhoja, however, found that his Ḍāmara supporters had been won over to Jayasiṁha's camp. This resulted in the breaking of the alliance. In the autumn of A.D. 1144, Bhoja's northern allies, the Daradas and the *mlecchas* deserted him and he was again left in the hands of Alaṁkāracakra.[7] Alaṁkāracakra's control over Bhoja caused constant fear and trouble to Jayasiṁha throughout the winter of A.D. 1144-45. After protracted negotiations between Bhoja and Jayasiṁha and with the mediation of the chief queen, Kalhaṇikā,

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.2454ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.2467ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.2488ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.2492-2629.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.2704ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIIII.2761ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.2844-96.

as a surety, Bhoja surrendered to the king in the summer (Jyeṣṭha) of A.D. 1145[1] against the will of his Ḍāmara allies. The surrender of this last pretender was followed by the subjection of several important Ḍāmaras, including Rājavadana. Prince Gulhaṇa, the eldest of the princes born of Raḍḍādevī, the queen of Jayasiṁha, was now crowned ruler of Lohara.[2]

Earlier, Jayasiṁha had given his daughter Ambāputrikā in marriage to Somapāla of Rājapurī; while he had himself married Nāgalekhā, Somapāla's sister's daughter.[3] He now strengthened his relations with Rājapurī by marrying his daughter Menilā to Prince Bhūpāla, son of Somapāla.[4] Another princess, Rājyaśrī, was married to Ghaṭotkaca, the younger brother of King Prājidhara. Kalhaṇa does not give us any clue to the territory ruled by Prājidhara, but he was evidently a hill chief.[5] He is stated to have crossed the river Kṛṣṇā (modern Kishanganga), and defeating Dvitīya, the lord of Uraśā, with the help of Jayasiṁha, he took Atyagrapura (Agror).[6] Uprooting King Vikramarāja of Vallāpura (Ballawar), Jayasiṁha placed on the throne King Gulhaṇa.[7]

Jayasiṁha is stated to have had very friendly relations with distant rulers in India.[8] Kalhaṇa's statement is corroborated by the evidence of Maṅkha. In the assembly of poets, held in the house of his brother Alaṁkāra, are mentioned Suhala, the ambassador of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra (A.D. 1114-54), king of Kānyakubja (Kanauj),[9] and Tejakaṇṭha, the ambassador of Aparāditya, the Śilāhāra lord of Koṅkaṇa.[10]

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.3008-3179.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.3301.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.1648.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.3396-97.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.3398-99.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.3401-2. For Atyagrapura, see Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII. 3402, note.
[7] *Rājat.*, VIII.2452.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.2453.
[9] *Śrīkaṇṭha.*, XXV.102 :"Anyaḥ sa Suhalastena tato'vandhyata paṇḍitaḥ. Dūto govindacandrasya kānyakubjasya bhūbhujaḥ." Cf. III.62. Alaṁkāra was the minister for War and Peace.
[10] *Ibid.*, XXV.110-11.

Both these rulers have been identified from their inscriptions.[1] Though this mission was non-political, it must have materially contributed to cementing good relations between Kashmir, Kanauj and Koṅkaṇa.[2] Thus he raised the prestige of this mountain kingdom very high.[3]

Kalhaṇa's narrative ends in A.D. 1149-50, telling us that King Jayasiṁha had been twenty-two years on the throne by that date. He had removed the pretenders one by one, the rebellions of the Ḍāmaras had been crushed, and the attempts of his northern neighbours—the Daradas—to help the pretenders in alliance with *mleccha* (Mohammedan) chiefs of the Upper Indus had failed. Thus we find Jayasiṁha securely established on the throne.

We have seen that within a period of four months Jayasiṁha managed to rid himself of the immediate dangers to his position though he had many further problems to face owing to the turbulence of the preceding reigns. Learning from the failures of his uncle and father, Jayasiṁha tried to appease the Ḍāmaras by cunning diplomacy rather than curb them by sheer force of arms. By his judicious diplomacy he succeeded in maintaining himself on the throne in the midst of the troubles which had been the cause of the misfortune of his predecessors. Stein writes : "Kalhaṇa has nowhere to tell us of acts of personal bravery of the king, but on the other hand gives us ample proof of his skill in plotting and of his self-possession. By the side of these qualities we note a conspicuous want of firmness and decision which accounts for the ascendancy gained over the king by a succession of favourites. This moral defect, probably, also prevented him from reaping more permanent advantages from otherwise well-designed measures, and may explain some acts of striking ingratitude and treachery for which it would be difficult to assign any serious political motives."[4] Looking back to the situation at the time of Jayasiṁha's accession we find that he had many dangers to face and a number of rivals to contend

[1] Bühler, *Report*, p. 51.

[2] Tripathi, R. S., *History of Kanauj*, p. 312.

[3] Cf. Ghosh, N. N., *Early History of India*, p. 336.

[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, p. 124.

with. The whole of the history of his reign is characterised by intrigues at court, the revolts of the Ḍāmaras, and their support of the pretenders—Bhikṣācara, Loṭhana, Mallārjuna and Bhoja in turn. The rivalries of the commander-in-chief, Sujji, and the chamberlain, Lakṣmaka, occupy a large part of the narrative. Court intrigues and mutual jealousies had become such a regular part of the history of medieval Kashmir, mostly owing to the ambitions of the Ḍāmaras and the designs of rival claimants for the acquisition of the throne of Kashmir and Lohara, that it was perhaps difficult for one man to rule the kingdom without committing any error somewhere. His unscrupulousness appears to have been necessitated by the circumstances of his time and was quite in keeping with the traditions of the Arthaśāstra. That the policy succeeded in maintaining Jayasiṁha securely on the throne during the difficult days after his accession, and later in removing one by one all the rival claimants to the throne along with the powerful Ḍāmaras, is perhaps the only justification for Jayasiṁha's conduct. The praises which Kalhaṇa sometimes showers on this king may give an impression that the poet is partial to him, but when we notice the lengths of the reigns of the earlier kings who were unable to cope with similar dangers and problems, we are led to believe that Kalhaṇa had good reason to approve of his policy. Friendly relations with neighbouring rulers and distant kings in India attest Jayasiṁha's importance and popularity. The surmise, that but for the moral defects in Jayasiṁha's policy he might have reaped more permanent results from his otherwise well-designed measures, may be quite reasonable, but it is difficult to say whether it was possible to do anything better in the circumstances in which this ruler was placed.

Kalhaṇa records that Jayasiṁha had five sons from Queen Raḍḍādevī. The eldest of these named Gulhaṇa, as a child of six or seven years old, had been crowned ruler of Lohara. His other four sons from this queen were named after the illustrious earlier kings of Kashmir—Aparāditya, Jayāpīḍa, Lalitāditya and Yaśaskara.[1]

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.3371-78.

The chronicle of Kashmir was continued by Jonarāja, who again revived the tradition of historical writing in the reign of King Zain-ul-Ābidīn in the early decades of the fifteenth century. According to Jonarāja, Jayasiṁha ruled for five years after Kalhaṇa's account ceases, and undertook an expedition against an unnamed Turuṣka-Yavana (Muslim) king. He died in the spring of A.D. 1154-55 and was succeeded by his son Paramāṇuka.[1] It is curious that we do not find the name of this prince among the sons of Jayasiṁha mentioned above. Probably it was the pet name of one of the princes, for there does not appear to be any evidence for the end of the second Lohara dynasty with Jayasiṁha's death. In this connection we refer to some of the verses of Kalhaṇa where he mentions that, when this king once fell seriously ill of a skin-disease *(lūta)*, Sujji, one of his ministers, planned to install on the throne the king's only son, Parmāṇḍi, who was then a child of five years. Parmāṇḍi is stated to be born of Queen Guṇalekhā who was the daughter of Ḍāmara Gargacandra.[2] Paramāṇuka appears to be the pet name of the same prince. Being the eldest of Jayasiṁha's sons he had every right to succeed to the throne after his father's death.

Kalhaṇa's silence in this respect is surprising. While telling the names of all other princes he does not mention either Guṇalekhā, the mother, or Parmāṇḍi, the son. Could it be that, having told us of Guṇalekhā and the Prince Parmāṇḍi previously, he did not feel it necessary to mention them again.[3] At the time when Parmāṇḍi is mentioned, Jayasiṁha's other sons were not born, for he is referred to as the only son. If our identification of Paramāṇuka with Parmāṇḍi be acceptable, it is interesting that the last but one ruler of the second Lohara dynasty was a Ḍāmara on his mother's side.[4] Paramāṇuka's coins have been found and discussed by Cunningham, who reads the name as Sri-

[1] Jonarāja, *Rājat.*, vs. 26-27. See Raghunath Singh's tr., v.39, note.

[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.460, 1604ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.460, 1607-1608, 2953.

[4] This does not, however, in any way establish the complete victory of the Ḍāmaras.

para(mānaka)deva.[1] Paramāṇuka is, however, said to have been a very weak ruler who reigned until A.D. 1164-65 as a mere tool in the hands of his ministers Prayāga and Janaka.[2] He was succeeded by his son Vantideva, who died in A.D. 1171. For want of a worthy successor, one Vuppadeva was installed on the throne. Thus the second Lohara dynasty seems to have come to an end with the death of Vantideva.[3]

[1] Cunningham, *CMI*, plate V; cf. Jonarāja, *Rājat.*, Hindi tr. by Raghunath Singh, verse 39, note.

[2] Barnett, L. D., (*Antiquities of India*, p. 118) states that Avantideva (Vantideva) succeeded in A.D. 1163.

[3] Jonarāja, *Rājat.*, vs. 38-52.

CHAPTER TWO

KINGSHIP, MINISTERS AND ADMINISTRATION

To clearly understand the theory of kingship in Kashmir we have to understand the nature of Kashmir society and its religious and philosophical background which was permeated with the doctrines of idealistic monism. Kalhaṇa, the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, was himself a high class Brahmin, apparently not only a man of books but also, as the son of a minister *(dvārapati)*, in touch with practical politics.

As regards the nature of kingship, Kalhaṇa gives the traditional view prevalent in Kashmir: "Kashmir land is Pārvatī and its king is a portion of Śiva. Though he be wicked *(duṣṭo'pi)*, a wise man who desires his own prosperity will not despise him."[1] In other words, in accordance with the prevalent system of the worship of Śiva as Ardhanārīśvara, the land of Kashmir is Pārvati, the *śakti* of god Śiva—the all powerful, sublime lord who projects Himself in a state of perfect enjoyment—and hence Kashmir as an embodiment of Pārvatī is the very part of god Śiva in his form of *śakti*.[2] Kingship in this case is not a divinely ordained institution but the Divinity itself is personified in the form of the king. The very land of Kashmir is considered as a part of the deity—land, people and king are made into one entity. "The king is, it would seem, a part of the people and land of Kashmir, looked upon as an organic whole."[3]

The verse referred to above enjoins upon the people the duty of obeying their king under any circumstances. Further it is stated that carrying out the orders of the king, even if he were a child, is the duty of the officers. Any failure in this would

[1] *Rājat.*, I.72. Cf. Jonarāja, *Rājat.*, v.134; *KSS*, vol. IV, p.1; *Nīlamata*,., v. 237; *Loka.*, ch. IV, v. 3.

[2] Cf. Chatterjee, J. C., *Kashmir Shaivaism*, p. 47; Das, S. K., *Shakti or Divine Power*, p. 59.

[3] Basham, A. L., *SIHC*, p. 55.

be considered a crime.[1] Kalhaṇa records these views in the context of a situation when Yaśovatī, the widowed queen of Dāmodara I, was being installed on the throne by the Brahmins and when some of the people grumbled about the accession of a woman. The word *duṣṭo'pi* apparently refers to the irregularity of succession and the attempt to justify the succession of a woman, saying that not to speak of a woman, even a wicked king is to be obeyed.

We find a similar theory in *Nārada Saṁhitā* where it is stated: "The king's command should be obeyed, otherwise death would follow. What the king says, be it right or wrong, is the law *(dharma)* of the suitors. The king lives on this earth like a visible Indra; the people cannot prosper by violating his orders. Whatever a king does is right, that is the settled rule, because the protection of the world is entrusted to him on account of his majesty and benignity towards all creatures. As a husband though worthless must be always worshipped by his wives, in the same way, the king though feeble should be worshipped by his subjects."[2]

Commenting on the above Ghoshal writes: "In this extract it is categorically stated that the king should be honoured irrespectively of his personal qualifications, and his orders obeyed without reference to their moral justification. Whether the further implication of this theory as involving absolute non-resistance on the part of the subjects was realised by the author, it is impossible to say. But there can be no doubt that the above passage marks the culmination of the Hindu doctrines of submission and obedience and makes the closest approach to the Western theory of Divine Right."[3]

On seeming analogy the verses of Kalhaṇa and Nārada quoted above remind one of the views of James I who in 1616 said to his parliament, "it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot

[1] *Rājat.*, I.79; cf. *Manu.*, ch. VII, v. 8.
[2] *Nārada.*, XVIII.20-22.
[3] Ghoshal, U. N., *HPT*, pp. 228-29.

do this or that."[1] In a certain verse referring to Mihirakula, Kalhaṇa says : That a king of such wickedness was not killed by the rising of the subjects, can only be due to his having been protected by the gods, who made him to act in this manner."[2] On the face of it, this would appear rather like the idea of "divinity that hedgeth the monarchy," but as we probe deeper into the matter we find the resemblance less close. For in this verse Kalhaṇa also recognizes that the subjects are liable to rise against their king, which shows that if he was considered to be divine, he was expected to come up to the standards of divinity. Thus this passage presents a curious admixture of the ideas of divinity and the just claims of the subjects to good government.[3]

Dr. Bal Krishna's view that "the Hindu political science does not recognize an irresponsible, unerring, unpunishable and unjust king. It takes him to be endowed with divine functions rather than with divine rights,"[4] fits in very well with the ideas about kingship in Kashmir. In this connection we have another verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* where talking of the evil ways of King Cakravarman and the praises bestowed on him by the panegyrists, parasites, bards and flatterers, Kalhaṇa contemptuously remarks : "Deceived in his mind by these praises he thought himself a god, and thus committed acts which were devoid of judgement."[5] Thus Kalhaṇa hates irresponsible evil-doing despots who consider themselves divine by the mere acquisition of the divine office of kingship. Such kings, however, according to Kalhaṇa's view, rise to power owing to the sinful deeds of the subjects.[6] In this connection we quote the words of Prof. A. L. Basham who says, "Though the Hindu king was often thought of as divine, the monistic tendencies of much Indian thought never strongly affected political thinking, and political mysticism of the Hegelian type is quite foreign to the Indian

[1] Catlin, George, *History of Political Philosophers*, p. 223.

[2] *Rājat.*, I.324.

[3] Cf. *Manu.*, ch. VII, vs. 27-28; *MBh.* (*Anuśāsana-parva*, ch. LXI, vs. 32-33; Basham. A. L., *SIHC*, p. 67.

[4] Bal Krishna, *The Evolution of the State*, IHQ, III, June 1927, p. 325.

[5] *Rājat.*, V.353; cf. VII.506, VIII.60.

[6] *Ibid.*, V.415.

tradition."[1] He adds, "So, though he was regularly addressed as *deva* or God, the king did not always receive in ancient India, the abject and obsequious adoration accorded to emperors in some other ancient civilizations. In drama and story we read of kings being roundly abused by their wives, boldly criticized by their ministers and scathingly condemned by their subjects, usually with complete impunity."[2] The ideal relationship between the king and his subjects that Kalhaṇa advocates is that between a father and his sons. He repeatedly refers to this in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[3]

"Kings," James I said to parliament in 1610, "are also compared to fathers of families; for a king is truly *parens patriae*, the political father of his people. And, lastly, kings are compared to the head of this microcosm of the body of man. . .do not meddle with the main points of government, that is my craft. . . to meddle with that, were to lessen me."[4] About this Davies says: "James' attitude towards the national representatives was both paternal and contemptuous like a wise father, he wished his people to believe that whatever he did was for their good, but the thesis that their representatives should decide what was good or bad for the country was rank sedition to him."[5] Thus we can well understand that there was a great difference in the concept of king as the father of the subjects as enunciated and followed by the despotic rulers of the West and the despotism of the kings of Kashmir and India in general. In the words of Troyer, "it is the absolute power of one man under the directing influence of official councillors and under the very widespread restriction of inviolable customs, which embrace and form the domestic and public life of the people."[6]

According to Śukra, the kingdom is an organism of seven limbs—the sovereign, the minister, the friend, the treasure, the

[1] Basham, A. L., *SIHC*, pp. 58-59.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[3] *Rājat.*, I.98; V.350; VII.506; VIII.60.

[4] Catlin. George, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[5] Davies, Godfrey, *The Early Stuarts*, p. 6.

[6] Troyer, M. A., *Rādjataraṅgiṇī*, vol. III, p. 488. Cf. *Medhātithi on Manu*, VII.13, note.

state, the fort and the army. Of these seven constituent elements of the kingdom, the king or sovereign is the head, the minister is the eye, the friend is the ear, the treasure is the mouth, the army is the mind, the fort is the arms, and the state is the legs.[1] The analogy again shatters when we read the subsequent verses: "The king is the cause of the prosperity of this world, is respected by the experienced and old people and gives pleasure to the eyes (of the people) as the moon to the sea."[2] "Without the governor, the subjects do not keep to their own spheres. Nor does the sovereign flourish in the world without subjects."[3]

To a good king Kalhaṇa even attributes super-natural powers.[4] The cruel king Mihirakula, on the other hand, is called a royal *vetāla* or vampire.[5] Evil kings meet death through the superior effect of their subjects' merits.[6] The king should be virtuous and free from vice. Thus Kalhaṇa condemns a king who yields to the passion of love, is fond of wine, is addicted to dice, and is surrounded by drunkards who plunder the riches of the treasury.[7] Referring to the murder of King Uccala, Kalhaṇa writes: "Kings who in their kingdom go eagerly after enjoyments and please their minds with a multitude of various dresses, resemble bees which in the garden seek eagerly the stamina of the flowers and please themselves with a multitude of various blossoms . . . alas, they both somehow disappear as soon as they are seen."[8] Thus a king should be free from pride and devoted to god Śiva.[9] Among the royal virtues, Kalhaṇa

[1] *Śukra.*, ch. I, lines 121-24,

[2] *Ibid.*, ch. I, lines 127-28. Cf. Kām., sec. I, vs. 16-17, sec. IV, vs. 1, 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, vs. 131-32.

[4] *Rājat.*, I.190; III.16-26; VIII.2639; *Śukra.*, ch. I, lines 48-49.

[5] *Rājat.*, I.292; *Śukra.*, (ch. I, lines 59-70), classifies kings into *sātvika, rājasa, tāmasa*—one who protects his subjects, one who is oppo site, and one who is untruthful and cunning.

[6] *Rājat.*, I.325; cf. *Śukra.*, ch. I, lines 48-49 :

Guṇījuṣṭastu yo rājā sa jñeyo devatāṅśakaḥ /
Viprītastu rakṣo'ṅśaḥ sa vai narakabhājanaḥ //

[7] *Rājat.*, VI.153-54; cf. *Manu.*, ch. VII, v. 140; *Kām.*, sec. I, vs. 36ff.

[8] *Rājat.*, VIII.334.

[9] *Ibid.*, I.277-79.

mentions cleverness, kindness, discretion and politeness.[1] The king is also required to be shrewd and diplomatic.[2]

In practical politics, Kalhaṇa requires the king to be a shrewd judge of men and of all situations. Referring to the measures taken by Sujji—one of the disaffected officers of Jayasiṁha—for his own protection, he says : "That king who with dull senses mistakes a falsehood for truth and truth for falsehood, foregoes his aims and is put to sufferings by misfortune."[3] The kings are also required to respect the learned and the wise and not to discuss their good qualities in public and their faults behind their backs.[4] The protection of subjects is considered the primary duty of kings. Thus the legendary King Tuñjīna, when a great famine occurred during his reign, thought that the excessive snowfall and the consequent famine were caused by some fault of his own,[5] bought food with his own treasures and, with the accumulated wealth of his ministers, and, together with his wife, by day and night put fresh life into the people. When all his wealth was exhausted, afflicted by the sufferings of the subjects, he decided to burn his body to ashes. Here Kalhaṇa speaks through the king : "Blessed are those rulers who sleep at night in happiness, having before seen their citizens in comfort everywhere as if they were their own children."[6] His queen is stated to have said: "Devotion to their husbands is the duty of wives; faithfulness is the duty of ministers; the duty of

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.2663; *Manu.*, ch. VII, vs. 140ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.122, 211; *Kām.*, sec. IV, vs. 6-8, 15-19.

[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.48, 211, 2083.

[4] *Ibid.*, I.358.

[5] *Ibid.*, II.20ff. This gives an impression that here the man is the maker of his age. The spirit of the age is what is created by the king's activities. Cf. *Śukra.*, ch. I, lines 37-44, 119-20; *Nītivākyāmṛta*, ch. VII, verse 21 : *Sa kim rājā yo na rakṣati prajāḥ*; *Manu.*, ch. VII, v. 35.

Medhātithi on *Manu.* says that protection of the subjects consists in the removal of troubles, secular and spiritual. Regarding the *rājadharma* or duties of a king, the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* has a verse saying :

Nogradaṇḍo bhaved rājā kṣamet na ca kasyacit.
Kārayet tathā rājyam rājā śāstropadeśataḥ.

(*Nīlamata.*, V.839)

[6] *Rājat.*, II.42.

kings is to have no other aim but the protection of their subjects."[1] Again Kalhaṇa says : "Those kings whose only object is to oppress their subjects, perish together with their descendants, whereas royal fortune attends the race of those who will repair what has been destroyed."[2] King Jayasiṁha of the second Lohara dynasty is said to have been very anxious for the protection of his subjects.[3]

In ancient Indian literature on politics, the promotion of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* were the aims of the state. Thus Manu says : "at midday or midnight, when his mental and bodily fatigues are over, let him deliberate, either with himself or along with his ministers, on virtue, pleasure, and wealth."[4] In accordance with these tenets, Kalhaṇa also prescribes threefold objects for the king. Thus King Kalaśa, before he came under evil influences, divided his time with due regard for these objects.[5] The term *dharma* is applied in its wider meaning, as the maintenance of law by discharging his kingly duties, not merely by having a sense of religious merit, but by fostering a feeling of piety and religiousness, by encouraging virtue and morality among his subjects and establishing religious institutions indiscriminately for all the sects, by helping the poor and the decrepit, and by extending patronage to men of letters. Kalhaṇa emphasizes the king's position as the first citizen and the necessity of his setting lofty ideals before the public. Another king, Durlabhaka Pratāpaditya II, though much afflicted by the pangs of love for the wife of a merchant, refused to take her as his wife, because he thought that, if he violated the law, the subjects would be inclined to do the same.[6] The term *dharma*

[1] *Rājat.*, II.48.

[2] *Ibid.*, I.188; III.472-73; V.211-12; VII.1582. See Basham, A. L., *SIHC*, p. 63; *Manu.*, ch. VII, vs. 111-12, *MBh. (Śānti-parva)*, ch. LVIII, verses 1-4.

[3] *Rājat.*, VIII.2351.

[4] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, ch. 7; Shamashastry translates the three pursuits as *Charity*, *Wealth* and *Desire*. Cf. *Manu.*, ch. VII, vs. 151ff.; *Cāru*, verse 69.

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.510.

[6] *Rājat.*, IV.28-30; cf. *Manu.*, ch. VII, vs. 44-53. Majumdar, R. C. (ed.) in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 308, says, "Hindu Government could not be merely negative. It had to adopt a positive attitude towards all the

is also used in its restricted sense of religious observances in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[1] We have dealt with the religious activities of the Kashmir kings separately.[2]

The state in Kashmir, though it did champion the cause of *varṇas* and *āśramas*, did not confound *dharma* with the unequal social order. Rather the kings of Kashmir gave a lead in encouraging liberal policy. They married in lower castes and offered high posts to any persons of whatsoever religious belief and social status they might be, provided they were competent for the task. They promoted piety and religion but they did not make themselves subordinate to the religious and priestly order. Earlier, King Yaśaskara was given his throne by the Brahmins but the moment he sat on it he explicitly told them not to be proud on account of the fact that they had bestowed it on him, and exhorted them not to come to him except in the case of some business.[3] The Brahmins appear to have exercised a healthy influence sometimes, but on the whole the kings were not instruments in their hands and could show them their proper place if they so chose. The only weapon in the hands of the Brahmins was the *prāyopaveśa*, the hunger-strike. They were ordinarily exempt from taxation and capital punishment.[4]

The promotion of *artha*, which would imply encouragement of agriculture, trade and industry, was also aimed at by the Kashmir kings in general. King Avantivarman's irrigation works led to general prosperity.[5] King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa made an arrangement at Cakradhara for conducting the water of the Vitastā (Jhelum) and distributing it to various villages by the construction of a series of water wheels, and large areas of land which were previously under water, became productive.[6]

main concerns of life—religion, ethics, family, economics, culture, etc. We find accordingly that the Hindu state touched the whole of life."

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.697.

[2] *Infra.*, ch. VI.

[3] *Ibid.*, ch. V.

[4] *Ibid.*, ch. III.

[5] *Rājat.*, V.88ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, IV.191.

King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa's testament on state policy, however, reveals a different thinking and Kalhaṇa's paraphrase of it gives the impression that the general trend of government policy in his time was to leave the masses with bare subsistence.[1] On the other hand, we find Kalhaṇa regretting the policy of King Harṣa, which, though generous, was not properly executed. Using King Lalitāditya as his mouthpiece, he is, no doubt, referring to the existing anarchy of his times and the rising power of the Ḍāmaras. The struggle during the rule of the Loharas represents the conflict of this rising feudal class which had equipped itself with armaments and was also oppressing the other sections of Kashmir society. When King Jayasiṁha tried to appease the Ḍāmaras, Kalhaṇa is all praises for him.

The kings promoted the *kāma* of their subjects by ensuring peace and order and by encouraging fine arts. During the reign of King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) taste in arts reached its high watermark in Kashmir. The king, himself a great poet and singer, gave lessons in these arts.

Thus, though on the whole we cannot claim that the kings of the Lohara dynasties came quite up to the ideals set forth by the theorists, we can assume that they recognized them as such and tried to achieve them to whatever extent and in which ever way their personal tastes and activities directed them.

It has sometimes been claimed that the monarchy in Kashmir was elective. Though apparently there are instances of election in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, they demand thorough examination before a conclusion can be reached. When the Utpala dynasty came to an end in A.D. 939, one Kamalavardhana managed to get effective control of the government machinery. Instead of crowning himself immediately, he asked the Brahmins of the capital to elect somebody as the king, thinking that they would naturally support his claim. Kalhaṇa says that this was the most foolish procedure that could ever have been thought of. Quite cynically he compares it to the conduct of a person who does not accept the love offer of a lady of exceptional

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.344-52.

beauty coming herself to his house under intoxication begging to be accepted, but sends a messenger the next day to enquire whether she would come. In this particular case, the Brahmins went on arguing for five or six days without coming to any decision, while the *purohitas* of sacred places *(pārişadyas)* collected together and started a solemn fast to enforce a decision. Ultimately the choice of the Brahmin assembly fell on Yaśaskara, who had just returned from abroad.[1] The above instance shows that the very idea of the election of king appeared strange to the historian of the twelfth century. Moreover, the fact that a group of Brahmins sat to elect a king in the above instance does not establish the principle of election in the modern sense of the word, and the very fact of the Brahmins not being able to come to a decision shows that the idea of electing a king was quite alien to them, and only occurred at the request of the person who expected to get the formal sanction of the Brahmin assembly for his accession to the throne. It is very interesting that the decision arrived at was not apparently animated by any principle of election by majority, but only by their desire to wind up the discussions. Thus kingship was hereditary. There were, however, cases of nomination also. The advent of the Lohara dynasty, as stated by Kalhaṇa himself, marks a great change in the dynastic history of Kashmir. Queen Diddā, in the absence of a successor to the throne in her own line, brought in the son of her brother Udayarāja, named Saṁgrāmarāja, and bestowed in her lifetime the rank of *yuvarāja* on him. After her death, he ascended the throne of Kashmir as the first king of the Lohara dynasty (A.D. 1003-28).[2]

Although we have the practice of brother-to-brother succession during the rule of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, it was governed by the law of primogeniture during Lohara period.[3] The eldest son was installed to the office of *yuvarāja*.[4] During the

[1] *Rājat.*, V.459ff. Regarding *pārişadyas* see Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V. 465-66, note.

[2] *Rājat.*, VI.355ff. Cf. *KSS*, vol. IV, p. 18.

[3] Cf. *KSS*, vol. VIII, p. 101.

[4] *Rājat.*, V.128-29. It was customary, in case the heir to the throne was a young child, to place him in the arms of an elder relative, and to perform

reign of King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89), his cousin Kṣitirāja, who ruled at Lohara, being at enmity with his own son, resigned worldly affairs and bestowed the kingdom of Lohara on Utkarṣa, the younger son of Kalaśa.[1] The elder son of Kalaśa was Harṣa, and in this case the bestowal of the Lohara kingdom on Utkarṣa, the younger brother, instead of Harṣa, suggests the safeguarding of the right of the elder son to succession to the paternal throne of the main kingdom of Kashmir. Troyer was wrong, however, in saying that the succession to the throne from father to son had only been rarely broken during 3252 years.[2] Despite the maintenance of the principles of heredity and primogeniture, we find interesting fluctuations in royal succession during the early part of the rule of the Lohara dynasty. Because of King Ananta's weakness of character, Queen Sūryamatī held the affairs of government in her own hands for some time, and later, in A.D. 1063, she obtained the formal abdication of the throne by King Ananta in favour of his son Kalaśa.[3] Her object was apparently to put the rule of the land into stronger hands. Disgusted with Kalaśa's licentiousness and advised by his ministers, Ananta resumed the royal power, while Kalaśa remained king merely in name, taking even his meals in the presence of his parents and acting as if he were his father's *purohita* at assemblies and other royal functions.[4] Tired of the evil conduct and misbehaviour of Kalaśa, Ananta proceeded to Vijayeśvara, where he was attacked by Kalaśa, and later, afflicted by the harsh words of his wife, Sūryamatī, committed suicide.[5] After this there was much disaffection and rivalry between King Kalaśa and his

the *abhiṣeka* ceremony for both jointly. This was to assure the safety of the heir during his infancy, and his subsequent accession to actual power. Thus, Gargacandra, a minister of King Uccala, after the death of the latter, wanted to put his infant son in the arms of Sahasramaṅgala. The relationship of this man is, however, not stated. (Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII. 371 & note).

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.251-61.

[2] Troyer, M. A., *Rādjataraṅgiṇī*, tr., vol. III, p. 488.

[3] *Rājat.*, VII.230-31.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII.244-46.

[5] *Ibid.*, VII.357-61, 445-46.

son Harṣa,[1] but even when Kalaśa became weak in body, he wanted to bestow his throne on Harṣa. Noticing the opposition of his ministers, however, he recalled Utkarṣa from Lohara in order to have him installed as king. Thus, after King Kalaśa's death, Utkarṣa was crowned by the ministers.[2] The citizens, however, supported the claims of Harṣa, who was first imprisoned in the turmoil of popular discontent, but was ultimately able to ascend the throne, with the help of his younger brother Vijayamalla.[3] Thus, though the law of primogeniture was recognized in Kashmir, there occurred irregularities in succession to the throne during the rule of the first Lohara dynasty owing to the struggle between father and son and brother and brother, which characterized this dynasty's history. The second Lohara dynasty was founded by Uccala in A.D. 1111. As the struggle for the throne of Kashmir had been jointly carried on by the brothers, Uccala and Sussala, the latter, not content with the rule of Lohara, attacked Uccala, got the kingdom, and was succeeded by his son Jayasiṁha, who ruled until A.D. 1155. There were, even during the rule of Uccala and Sussala, usurpations for short periods by Raḍḍa-Śaṅkharāja, Salhaṇa and Bhikṣācara—rival claimants through one or the other branch of the Loharas.[4] After Jayasiṁha, the throne appears to have passed to his son.

As for the eligibility of the individuals to the royal title, we find many instances in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* when the throne passed to orders other than those of the Kṣatriyas. The Kārkoṭa dynasty (*c.* 600-885) was of a tribal origin.[5] Avantivarman, the founder of the succeeding dynasty known as Utpala, was the son of a spirit-distiller.[6] The caste of Yaśaskara, the founder of the next dynasty (A.D. 939), is not known.[7] Parvagupta, the minister of Unmattāvanti, succeeded in his schemes to gain the throne and ruled from A.D. 949 to 950. He belonged to a family

[1] *Rājat.*, VII. 617ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.703, 729.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.773-74, 829.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.342, 375-77, 842ff.
[5] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, p. 86.
[6] *Rājat.*, IV.677-79.
[7] *Ibid.*, V. 469-75, 479-80.

of *diviras* or scribes.[1] His successor, Kṣemagupta, married Diddā, the daughter of Siṁharāja of Lohara and the daughter's daughter of the Śāhi king, Bhīmapāla, of Kabul.[2] Diddā's marriage into the family of Kashmir rulers shows that it was not the caste of the ruling families but the fact of the acquisition of the throne which was given importance. The Loharas themselves belonged to the Kṣatriya caste and Khaśa tribe. It is from the advent of this dynasty that we have succession of rulers of Kṣatriya lineage on the throne of Kashmir.[3]

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja, we find a verse wherein it is stated that a king, Rāmadeva (A.D. 1273), adopted the son of a Brahmin. Jonarāja here gives his own comment, saying that though he was made a Kṣatriya, he did not abandon his own Brahmanical practices and did not act like a Kṣatriya just as a stone even when coloured cannot attain the qualities of a jewel.[4] The idea of a Brahmin becoming a Kṣatriya by getting the throne is quite consistent with Medhātithi's definition of kingship: "The word *rājan* does not signify the Kṣatriya caste alone, but it applies to a person possessing the attributes of coronation, lordship, and such other qualities." In other words, it is the office of the king and not his caste which assigns the kingly attributes. Thus "the incidents and duties attached to the Kṣatriya ruler apply to any one else who discharges the functions of the former."[5] This dictum is supported by Jonarāja's regrets about a Brahmin remaining a Brahmin, though in theory converted into a Kṣatriya. Whether he came up to the standard expected of a Kṣatriya or not is beside the point in this context. The eligibility of a Brahmin to the throne and to become theoretically a Kṣatriya is well established.

The kings of Kashmir are said to have worn crowns with three circles *(cakra-traya)*. The first reference to this type of crown is found during the reign of Gopālavarman (A.D. 904-

[1] *Rājat.*, VI.130.

[2] *Ibid.*, VI.176-78.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.663.

[4] Jonarāja, *Rājat.*, v.119 (ed. Peterson); Raghunath Singh, *Rājat.* (tr.), V.114, note.

[5] Ghoshal, U. N., *HPT*, p. 235.

905).[1] Among the British Museum sculptures of the Śāhi period, we have a standing female figure of Pārvatī which "nicely illustrates the stylization of naturalistically rendered and disposed drapery when compared with the Lakṣmī from Brār (Kashmir) published by Foucher."[2] The second piece from the British Museum represents Śiva and Pārvatī. As pointed out by Barrett, the relation of this Pārvatī with her crown of three "crescents" to the other picture is obvious, and he dates it in the seventh century.[3] Though the adornments of the crowns are referred to by Barrett as crescents, and though Stein wrongly uses the word in his translation of the *cakra* in the above passage, they are actually in both cases almost complete circles and would probably qualify as *cakras*.[4] Though both these sculptures are from Gandhāra (Kabul), we believe that the kings in Kashmir must have worn such crowns.

In Kashmir, the images of Viṣṇu are shown as wearing crowns but not those of Śiva, and it is the image of Pārvatī in the above cases who wears the crown. We show a ninth century image of Viṣṇu from Avantipura, which wears a crown obviously similar to those of the Śāhi Pārvatī figures, but much more ornate. Here the designs are definitely circular and might well be referred to as *cakras*.[5] We have already discussed the theory of kingship in Kashmir wherein Pārvatī as the *śakti* of Śiva is considered the ruler of Kashmir. In this connection we find a very interesting story in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* where the god Śiva, relating stories to Pārvatī, tells her that when Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) craved a boon of Śiva to become his devotee, he became incarnate and was born in the form of Pārvatī, for she is the same as Nārāyaṇa, the power of Śiva, all powerful.[6] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also, the queen of the legendary king, Raṇāditya,

[1] *Rājat.*, V.231.

[2] See plates II-A & III-B.

[3] Barret, Douglas, 'Sculptures of the Śāhi Period', in *Oriental Art*, N. Series, Summer 1957, vol. III, No. 2, p. 58. Cf. Foucher, A., *Mémoires Concernant l'Asie Orientale*, tome premier, Paris, 1913, p. LXIII.

[4] Barrett, Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 59, plate I; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V.231.

[5] See plate II-B. Cf. Kak, R. C., *HANSM*, pp. 50, 61-63.

[6] *KSS*, vol. I, p. 4. Cf. *Matsya*, ch. CCLX.

who was actually a goddess in human form, relates to the king that at one time, at the marriage of Pārvatī, Prajāpati, who filled the office of *purohita*, brought his own divine image for the purpose of worship. When Śiva saw that it was Viṣṇu's image which was being worshipped by him, he thought it of no use as it represented only the *śakti* without Śiva. Thereupon Śiva put together into a lump the jewels which the invited gods and *asuras* had brought as marriage presents and formed a *liṅga* and thus both Śiva and Viṣṇu were worshipped. The stories bring home to us the importance of Viṣṇu as a form of the *śakti* of Śiva according to Kashmir Śaivite theology.[1] Thus the crowns on the heads of the kings of Kashmir can be regarded, like those of Viṣṇu and of Pārvatī, as implying that the ruler is a manifestation of Śiva.

The next reference to the crown of the king is during the reign of King Ananta.[2] It is said that he pawned his crown with its five resplendent crescents *(candrakas)* to a foreign merhant. We do not have any specific sculptures of this type except for the image of Buddha's mother with a diadem surmounted by five floral designs.[3] Possibly the crown during the Lohara dynasty was decorated in the same manner with five circular designs similar to those on the crown of the Avantipura Viṣṇu. The number of these may have been increased from three to five by the Loharas. The diadem on the head of Buddha's mother, however, is dated in the tenth century by H. Goetz.[4]

MINISTERS

The ministry or council of advisors was regarded by ancient Indian political thinkers as a vital organ of the body

[1] *Rājat.*, III.443-54.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII.195.

[3] See plate III-A.

[4] Goetz, H., *Mārg*, vol. VIII, No. 2, Bombay, March, 1955, p. 72. In *the Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (tr. by C. Iyer, part II, ch. 2, v. 5, it is stated that the king's *paṭṭa* shall have five points or crests; the queen's and the prince's shall have three crests. C. Iyer, however, renders *paṭṭa* as a frontlet or a fillet worn round the head.

politic.[1] The second of the seven elements of the state (*rājya*) is given by them as *amātya* or minister, for whom "there are three words which are interchangeable though sometimes distinguished—*amātya*, *saciva* and *mantrin*, the first being the oldest of the three.[2]

In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, we find the word *saciva* used for councillor.[3] Śukra uses the term *mantrin*.[4] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa clearly mentions a council of ministers *(mantriparişad* or *mantrisabhā)*,[5] and indiscriminately uses the words *amātya*, *saciva* and *mantrin* for the single term 'minister'.[6]

The necessity of *amātyas* is stated in graphic language by several writers. Kauṭilya says that kingship is possible only with assistants; a single wheel cannot work a chariot; therefore the king should appoint ministers and listen to their opinions.[7] Manu holds that it is difficult for a person to accomplish single-handed even an easy task; much less a government which has great good as its aim.[8] A king who has no capable minister cannot govern his kingdom even for three days.[9] Śukra believes that even the king who is proficient in all the sciences and a pastmaster in statecraft should never by himself study political interests without reference to ministers.[10] The actions of kings without the help of councillors lead to hell and destruction, take away the fear of the enemy's army and ruin life and wealth.[11]

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, ch. VII; *Manu.*, ch. VII, vs. 54-56; *Śukra.*, ch. II, lines 1-8.; *Viṣṇu.*, ch. III, vs. 33, 71.

[2] Kane, P. V., *HDhŚ*, vol. III, p. 104.

[3] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, ch. VII.

[4] *Śukra.*, ch. II, lines 3-4.

[5] *Rājat.*, IV.61; VI.261.

[6] *Rājat.*, IV.310 *(saciva)*, 318 *(mantrin)*, 320 *(amātya)*, 340, 378 *(mantri)*, 403 *(amātya)*; VII.571-73 *(mantrin)*, VIII.23 *(saciva)*, 872-73 *(saciva)*, 1047 *(mantrin)*, 1566-67 *(mantrin)*, 1633 *(amātya)*.

[7] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, ch. VII.

[8] *Manu.*, ch. VII, v. 55.

[9] *Mbh.* (Śāntiparva), ch. CVI, v. 11.

[10] *Śukra.*, ch. II, lines 3-4.

[11] *Ibid.*, ch. IV, section V, lines 20-21.

In Kashmir we find these theories in their actual working, for the king was always helped in the affairs of government by a number of ministers and councillors. At the very beginning of his narrative, Kalhaṇa mentions the king's advisors and councillors and other officials who held the various important offices in the state.[1] He shows that the ministers along with other confidants formed a regular part of the king's assemblies, and declares that the royal dignity does not spread lustre without the ministers, just as the night without moon, or speech without truth.[2] As for the strength of the ministry, Manu holds that it should consist of seven or eight members.[3] Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*[4] and *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*[5] state that according to the Mānava school the council *(pariṣad)* of ministers should consist of twelve *amātyas*; according to Bārhaspatyas of sixteen; according to the Uśanas, of twenty; but Kauṭilya himself opines that the number is determined by the power or the exigencies of the state *(yathāsāmarthyam)*. The *Nītivākyāmṛta* holds that they should be three, five or seven, because unanimity is difficult in a larger group of persons of different characters.[6] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa repeatedly makes mention of the five ministers of the state.[7] On the other hand we are told that during the reign of King Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-28) the seven sons of a certain Śrīdhara, who were Brahmins and councillors *(mantriṇaḥ)*, came and fought against Tuṅga.[8] If seven brothers were king's councillors, the whole body must surely have been constituted of many more. This reference makes it doubtful whether the king in fact had only five ministers or a larger number in his council. It appears that the council had a large number of councillors, while the five chief ministers formed a cabinet, for discussing very important,

[1] *Rājat.*, I.119.

[2] *Ibid.*, VI.279.

[3] *Manu.*, ch. VII, v. 54.

[4] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, ch. XV.

[5] *Kām.*, sec. XI, vs. 74ff.

[6] *Nītivākya* (*mantrisamuddeśa*), ch. 10, v. 71 : *trayaḥ pañca sapta vā mantriṇastaiḥ kāryāḥ.*

[7] *Rājat.*, V.422; VI.102-3, 115.

[8] *Ibid.*, VII.22.

urgent or confidential matters.[1] This is further proved by the fact that Kalhaṇa also uses the word *mantrin* for the governors who were sent from time to time to rule at Kramarājya, Maḍavarājya or the Lohara kingdom.[2] In one verse he makes mention of Brahmin councillors and in the following verse of Brahmins and the ministers, which gives the impression that there were a large number of Brahmins in the council of ministers.[3] On the other hand, we get reference to the words like *pradhāna-saciva*, *agryamantrin*, *mukhyamantrin*.[4] In all these references the word *mantrin* is not ordinarily used for the chief minister, who was called *sarvādhikṛta* but it is used for a number of ministers usually five, also called the *pradhānaprakṛti*,[5] making it clear that these were distinct from all other ministers and councillors. Thus the whole organisation of the council seems to fall in line with that recommended by the *Nītivākyāmṛta*.

We find Kalhaṇa everywhere emphasizing the authority of the king over his ministers. The king should seek his ministers' advice but should not be dictated by them. Thus praising King Candrāpīḍa's thorough acquaintance with the affairs, he writes : "He was not instructed by his ministers but gave them instructions. The diamond is not cut by any other precious stones, but it cuts them."[6] In fact Kalhaṇa advocates a proper balance between the position of the king and that of his ministers. He compares a frightened king to an artist who is unable to replace the stone block when it has fallen from the masonry.[7] Indeed, Kalhaṇa declares that the king is his own

[1] *Rājat.*, V.430; VII.1043, 1251.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII.1375-76.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.13-14.

[4] *Ibid.*, V.418; VI.194; VII.1431,VIII.1382, 2175 *(pradhānaprakṛti)*.

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.1042-43; VIII.2175. Rocher translates the word *prakṛti* as elements of State. He writes : "It is generally accepted that the Hindu State is constituted by seven elements *(prakṛtis)*. They are : the king, the ministers, the territory and the people, the fortified city, the treasury, the army and the allies. See *Vyavahāracintāmaṇi*, tr., p. 182, note; cf. *Śukra.*, ch. I, lines 37-38, 122-24.

[6] *Rājat.*, IV.51.

[7] *Ibid.*, I.363.

master as long as he moves on the right path. Such a king, if virtuous, shares pleasures with his ministers even in the other world, but the ministers act as checks upon him when he follows an evil way.[1] The ideal relationship, however, is when the king and the minister have regard for each other. So great was the regard shown by King Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-813) to his minister Śūravarman, and so much did he regard his feelings, that he posed outwardly as a worshipper of Śiva, the minister's favourite deity, though he was in reality a worshipper of Viṣṇu. This secret he only disclosed at the time of his death.[2] Similarly, we are told that the minister saw in the king his chief deity, to please whom he ought to sacrifice even religion, life or a son.[3] Once a Ḍāmara, Dhanva of Lahara district, forcibly took hold of the villages belonging to the temple priests, who could thereafter offer only green vegetables *(utpalaśāka)* to the deities. He had been high in the favour of the minister, Śūravarman, but when the latter learned of the displeasure of the king at Dhanva's oppression of the subjects, he at once killed him and sent his severed head to the king in order to avoid his displeasure.[4] Kalhaṇa remarks : "Such a king and such a minister, whose relations were never disfigured by the blemish of mutual hatred, have not otherwise been seen or heard of."[5]

Ministers played a very important role in settling even such important affairs of state as the succession to the throne, and they could influence the king's decision to bestow it upon one of their choice. When King Śaṁkaravarman's (A.D. 902) lineage had died out, Queen Sugandhā wished to place upon the throne a relation of her own, at which the ministers remonstrated that he was not a fit person.[6] King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89)

[1] In *KSS* (ed. D. Prasad), 3.3.46, it is stated that discharging the duty of minister means undivided attention to the burden of the king's affairs but the compliance with a king's passing fancies is the characteristic of a mere courtier.

[2] *Rājat.*, V.124.

[3] *Ibid.*, V.47.

[4] *Ibid.*, V.48ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, V.63.

[6] *Ibid.*, V.253-55.

wished to bestow the crown on Harṣa but, noticing the opposition of the ministers, had Utkarṣa brought from the castle of Lohara in order to have him crowned as king of Kashmir.[1] The strength or otherwise of the ministers depended on the personality of the ruling king. Powerful ministers rose against the king, if he was not strong and able enough to keep them in their proper place and rule the realm efficiently. Weak kings were often in the hands of their ministers.[2] At the time of the wars of succession during the second Lohara dynasty, Gargacandra, a minister, became the king-maker, and obtained so much power over Salhaṇa that "the king was a mere shadow and all, whether of the inner or outer court, whether small or great, were dependent on Garga for life and death."[3] On the other hand, King Uccala of the second Lohara dynasty (A.D. 1101-11), seeing the strength of the lord of the 'gate' *(dvārapati)*, removed him and gave his charges to those who were meek and devoted.[4] Sometimes the exigencies of the state created a different situation. During King Jayasiṁha's reign (A.D. 1128-49) so great was the trouble from the Ḍāmaras and so much the efficiency of the chamberlain *(pratihāra)*, Lakṣmaka, in coping with them, that the king thought it prudent to leave affairs in the hands of the minister.[5] Lakṣmaka became so powerful that "he did not allow other ministers to rise and was able to make them rise or fall like playballs.[6]

According to Kauṭilya, the ideal minister should be a native of the country, born of high family, influential, well-trained in arts, farsighted, wise, of good memory, vigilant, eloquent, bold, intelligent, endowed with character, strength, health, spiritedness, free from arrogance and fickleness, and one who would not have recourse to hatred.[7] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* shows that some kings aspired to the appointment

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.703.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.872.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.415-26.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.175-86.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.1484, 1567.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.1633.
[7] *Arthaśāstra.* Bk. I, ch. IX; cf. *Kām.*, sec. II, vs. 25-31.

of ministers who should conform to similar ideals, but in many cases the ministers were much lacking in the good qualities listed by Kauṭilya. In Kashmir, the first two requisites laid down by Kauṭilya, that the minister should be a native and born of high family, do not seem to have been strictly adhered to. Haladhara, the son of Bhūti, a Vaiśya watchman at the temple of Gaurīśa, rose high in Queen Sūryamatī's service and gained the prime-ministership *(sarvādhikārin)*.[1] Kṣema, a barber, filled the treasury and organised the revenue office *(pādāgra)*, which was later put above all offices.[2] A low-born Kāyastha, Bhadreśa, was put in charge of *gṛhakṛtya* office (domestic affairs) by King Saṁgramarāja (A.D. 1003-28).[3] Keśava, a Brahmin from Trigarta, became minister during King Ananta's time (A.D. 1028-63), though he remained in the king's favour only for a very short time.[4]

Mutual jealousies played a very important part in raising or ousting people from high offices of state. Thus, in the time of King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), Kandarpa, the lord of the 'gate', won victory at Rājapurī and was greatly honoured by the king, but Ānanda, who had already won over the councillors by bribery and by ousting Vāmana, had acquired charge of the Revenue *(pādāgra)* office, and aspired to the office of the lord of the 'gate' held by Kandarpa. He ultimately succeeded in ousting him.[5] Kalhaṇa strongly deprecates such tendencies, but nevertheless clearly exposes their existence in medieval Kashmir. The results were in such cases often disastrous. Haṛsa had later to repent when during the catastrophe before his ultimate end, he begged for shelter at the doors of his ministers and councillors, all of whom refused.[6] Earlier the jealousies of the lesser ministers resulted in the downfall of Queen Diddā's able minister, Naravāhana; they so poisoned the queen's mind against him that she was totally estranged from

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.207-208.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.210.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.38-42.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.204-205; cf. VIII.1042, 1047.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.991-98, 1012.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.1610-14.

him and made his position so difficult that he ultimately committed suicide.[1] The history of King Jayasiṁha's time is full of instances of such intrigues and disaffections, sometimes leading to treason and rebellion.[2]

For the appointment of ministers, Kalhaṇa gives primary importance to capability. A capable minister was to be respected, even if he sometimes committed an offence.[3] But in addition he should also be capable of treating the subjects well,[4] for there are references to arrogant and cruel ministers being removed or killed by the people.[5] King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89) being afraid of minister Nonaka's cruelty did not give him the office of *pādāgra* (Revenue), though he was an expert in raising revenue.[6] He also refrained from appointing those persons to high posts who were of disobedient spirit, thieves, and those who were connected with confederacies.[7] In the time of King Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028), the Brahmin councillors gave the lead to the *purohitas* and other Brahmins in a hunger-strike at Parihāsapura, in order to bring about the fall of an obnoxious royal favourite named Tuṅga, a Khaśa from Parṇotsa.[8]

King Kalaśa's minister, Kandarpa, who held the post of the lord of the 'gate', undertook an expedition to the castle of Śvāpika at his own expense, but later on, being offended for some reason, he resigned. Praśastakalaśa, another minister who had been angered by Kandarpa's haughty behaviour, collected a large number of soldiers with his own money and obtained this post for his brother Ratnakalaśa. This is an instance of the purchase of office with money, though the person who obtained it was not fit for the post. Kalhaṇa remarks: "How

[1] *Rājat.*, VI.271-77.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.2186, 2189, 2737.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.891.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.37.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.430ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.571.
[7] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol.I, VII. 573. *Samdhyādisaṁśrayāḥ*, presumably joining in groups likely to be treasonable. The compound suggests that Kalhaṇa had the "four expedients" in view.
Rājat., VII.13f.

could a painted lion do the acts of a real one."[1] This account also shows that a man's monetary position helped him greatly in acquiring high offices. Moreover, to rise in the king's favour and to attain high offices, recourse was had to bribery.[2] Kalhaṇa gives us an interesting account of the criteria of appointment to official posts during the earlier period. During the times of King Pārtha (A.D. 906-921), the king wanted to raise those people to ministerial posts who would be able to raise the sums due on the Tantrin's bills. Thus evil kings sometimes formed a league with the ministers in oppressing the subjects.[3] Under the Lohara kings, sometimes capability and sometimes favour played an important part in the official appointments.[4]

It was disputed by the Hindu theorists whether or not the king's friends and companions should be appointed to official posts.[5] In Kashmir such people seem often to have held high offices. Janakasiṁha had been familiar with King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49) from his boyhood and had been acquainted with all his affairs, and thus it was difficult to harm him. Janakasiṁha's sons were of the same age as the king and, owing to their mother's intimate familiarity with the royal family, they prudently made an ostentatious display of their horses, litters, outfits, meals, etc., which were as sumptuous as those of the king. Their pompous familiarity roused the displeasure of Kalhaṇa, who wrote : "It is by no means proper that a ruler should keep on a footing of equality with his contemporaries after he has risen to power. It is a great humiliation for the row of lotuses when they have grown up, to be jumped over by a band of frogs."[6] Śṛṅgāra, the son of Sajjaka, had been King Jayasiṁha's companion at gambling and other amusements. This man later got the position of prime minister. Kalhaṇa does not seem to approve of such appointments, but when the person has proved worthy of his post, he praises him highly.[7]

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.596-600.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.2353.
[3] *Ibid.*, VI.275.
[4] *Rājat.*, VII.203, 207-8, 568-71.
[5] *Rājat.*, VIII.1569; cf. *Arthaśāstra*, Book I, ch. VIII.
[6] *Rājat.*, VIII.1572-74.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.2357-60, 2366, 2375.

Manu, Yājñavalkya, Vālmīki and Śukra prescribe that the ministerial office should be hereditary if the son is capable like his father.[1] The principle of hereditary succession to the ministerial posts does not seem to have been specifically maintained in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa himself did not hold any post in the state though he was the son of the great minister Campaka, the lord of the 'gate'. There is a reference however to Jayapāla, the son of a commander-in-chief named Sañjapāla, in King Jayasiṁha's time, being given the post after his father's death. The father had been of haughty temperament but all that was forgotten owing to his son, "just as the heat of the autumnal sun is forgotten owing to the cooling moonlight."[2] Thus it appears that the descendants of former ministers were employed in cases where it was expected that they would prove suitable to the appointment. Sometimes several members of a single family held various high offices in the state.[3]

Normally each minister held the charge of one department only. In the earlier books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, we do not find any reference to one person holding more than one ministerial post. It is not clear whether this is owing to the absence of any detailed records available to Kalhaṇa, or whether the practice had not developed at all in that period. The first reference to one person being assigned two ministerial offices occurs in the reign of Queen Diddā, when Tuṅga held the offices of prime minister as well as commander-in-chief.[4] In the reign of King Harṣa, Sahela is said to have held charge of the commander-in-chief as well as the lord of the 'gate'.[5] Among the ministers of King Jayasiṁha, Sujji was in charge of both the judicial and military affairs. He is also said to have been in charge of the *kherī* post.[6] Later on Alaṅkāra is seen holding the chief command of the army and the office of the chief justice. Citraratha also during the same reign was raised to the simultaneous

[1] *Manu.*, ch. VII, v. 54; *Yājña.*, ch. I, v. 312; *Rām.*, II.100-26.
[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.2473, 3322-23.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.183.
[4] *Ibid.*, VI.333, 354.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1319.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.1624.

charge of the 'gate' and the revenue *(pādāgra)* offices.[1] Possibly it was owing to turbulent conditions that the Lohara kings concentrated such high positions in a few trusted and efficient hands, so that the they had fewer potential rebels to keep watch on.

We do not find any specific evidence to show the tenure of these officers. They held their offices as long as they were in the king's favour or were able to prove equal to the situation. Often, if they lost the king's favour, they were thrown out of office. On the other hand, ministers also resigned their offices at will and sometimes refused to accept or retain them even at the repeated requests of the king. When the struggle was going on between King Harṣa and the brothers, Uccala and Sussala, from Lohara, none of the frightened ministers would accept the command of the army.[2]

ADMINISTRATION[3]

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we often find the king holding counsel with five chief ministers[4]—*pradhānaprakṛti* as they are sometimes called.[5] We have already shown that the kings of Kashmir were always helped in the affairs of government by a number of ministers and councillors, and that the five chief ministers formed a small 'cabinet' for discussing very important, urgent or confidential matters. These ministers also held the key-posts in their charge. Kalhaṇa does not anywhere distinctly mention the names of the five important posts which were held by these ministers. Going through the verses in the

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1964.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII.1362; VIII.93, 187, 562, 1625.

[3] For purposes of convenience we often employ modern political terminology in discussing the politics of medieval Kashmir. It must, however, always be borne in mind that the bodies and individuals mentioned did not always function in the same way as their present day counterparts. Thus the Kashmir "Cabinet" was an advisory council with no definite legislative functions. Similarly, the 'prime minister' was not normally the originator of policy or chief executive, but the chief advisor to the king.

[4] *Ibid.*, V.422-23; VI.102-103, 115; cf. *KSS*, Penzer ed., vol. V, pp. 98-99; vol. VII, p. 137.

[5] *Rājat.*, VIII.2175.

Rājataraṅgiṇī we find the Prime Minister *(sarvādhikṛta)*, the Commander-in-Chief *(kampana)*, the Lord of the 'gate' *(dvārapati)*, the Chief Justice *(Rājasthānīya)* and the Chief Revenue Officer *(pādāgra)* to have been apparently the most important officers.

The highest office in the state was that of the Prime Minister *(sarvādhikārin)*.[1] Before the establishment of the Lohara dynasty, Tuṅga, a Khaśa from Baddivāsa, became the Prime Minister. He continued to hold this office during the reign of King Saṁgrāmarāja, the first king of the Lohara dynasty. But so strong were the feelings of the public against him owing to his maladministration,[2] that he was ultimately murdered. Haladhara became the Prime Minister during the reign of King Ananta, and Vāmana was raised to this post during King Kalaśa's time[3] (A.D. 1063-89). When the assembly of hill *rājās* met in the capital during the latter's[4] time (A.D. 1087-88), Vāmana made excellent arrangements for giving them every possible comfort.[5] During Bhikṣācara's reign, the regal power was in the hands of Bimba who was made Prime Minister *(sarvādhikārin)* while Bhikṣācara enjoyed the mere title of king.[6] During the reign of King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49), Śṛṅgāra, son of Sajjaka, was made the Prime Minister.[7] Moreover, Lakṣmaka, who was a very important personage during this king's reign, is often mentioned as the chief chamberlain. He became King Jayasiṁha's chief adviser, pacified the Ḍāmaras, and was able to oust people from high posts, and replace them with his own favourites. The same person is later mentioned as having held the office of Prime Minister.[8] He must have held the post of chamberlain *(pratihāra, kṣattāra)* in the beginning, but even if later on he rose to be the Prime Minister he seems to have still

[1] *Rājat.*, VI.333; VII 207-8, 364-568; VIII.560, 862,1850, 2360, 2460,2470.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.13, 14, 74ff.;
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.207, 208,
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.568.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.587ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.862.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.2360.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.911, 1286, 1382, 1539, 1567, 1629, 2471.

been referred to by the original post with which he started his career. In any case, it is clear that the office of the Prime Minister retained its importanee during King Jayasiṁha's reign.

The office called *rājasthānādhikāra*[1] or simply *rājasthāna*[2] is repeatedly referred to in the last two books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and was evidently a high post, judging from its mention along with the great official charges of the *kampana* (the Commander-in-Chief) and the *dvārapati* (Lord of the 'gate').[3] *Rājasthānīya* appears to be the designation of the officer who held this charge.[4] C. V. Vaidya looks upon *rājasthānīya* as a government district officer. Some take him as foreign secretary—the officer who had to deal with other states and kingdoms or *rājasthānas*.[5] Bühler, referring to the term *rājasthānīya* occurring in the Vallabhī grants, takes it, on the basis of a verse in Kṣemendra's *Lokaprakāśa*, as a viceroy.[6] Kṣemendra writes: *prajāpālanārthamudvahati rakṣayati sa rājasthānīyaḥ*. (He who carries out the object of protecting the subjects and shelters them is called a *rājasthānīya*.)[7] The term *rājasthānīya* is occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. In some he appears as a high officer[8] but in others as of low rank, while none of them gives any clue to the exact meaning of the word.[9] Among the list of officers mentioned in the records of the Maitrakas and their contemporaries, *rājasthānīya* is mentioned next to *rājaputra*, *rājamātya* (councillor) and *dūtaka* but before the *mahāsaṁdhivigrahika* (minister for war and peace).[10] Here again the exact nature of the post is not discussed. This term has been used with two connotations in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.181.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.601; VIII.573, 1046, 1982.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.171-81. 573-75; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.601, note.
[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.2618.
[5] Vaidya, C. V., *HMHI*, vol. I, p. 157.
[6] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 207.
[7] *Lokaprakāsa*, ch. IV.
[8] *CII*, vol. III, No. 35, p. 157.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 218.
[10] Virji, K. J., *Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, pp. 233-34.

It is used to imply a high post when Kalhaṇa says: "In due course the king (Kalaśa) induced again, with much difficulty, that excellent servant (Kandarpa) to accept the charge of *rājasthāna* in the city."[1] In another verse Kalhaṇa uses the definite term *rājasthānādhikārabhāk*.[2] King Uccala (A.D. 1101-11) reduced Chuḍḍa and his brother, who were eager to grasp the royal power, to inferior positions and removed them from their posts in the royal court *(rājasthānāt)*.[3] Here the term *rājasthāna* clearly means the court in a wider sense and has not the technical sense of a specific office.

Stein takes *rājasthānādhikāra* as connected with the administration of justice.[4] The administration of justice has always been regarded in India as a direct function of the king, who is to hold court, according to the Smṛtis.[5] The delegation of this regal duty to a chief justice is equally well known to Indian tradition.[6] Referring to a verse of *Lokaprakāśa*,[7] which was also quoted by Bühler, and the immediately following fourfold division of the courts mentioned therein, Stein has concluded that the work of the *rājasthānīya* was concerned with the administration of justice. Alaṁkāra held the charge of the *rājasthāna* office during the reign of King Jayasiṁha. He is variously referred to as *rājagṛhya*,[8] *rājasthānīya*[9] and *bāhya-rājasthānādhikārabhāk*.[10] Earlier, during King Harṣa's reign, Kalhaṇa mentions two royal councillors *(rājagṛhyau)*, Akṣoṭa-malla and Malla.[11] In other verses in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we find the mention of *rājasthānīyamantriṇaḥ*[12] and several *rājagṛhyas*.[13]

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.601.
[2] *Ibid*, VIII.181.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII 270.
[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.601, note.
[5] *Manu.*, ch. VIII, v. 1; *Vas.* 16.2; *Yājña*, ch. 1, v. 327; *Nār.*, I.2; *Śukra.*, ch. IV, sec. 5, line 5; *Viṣṇu.*, ch. III, vs. 72-73.
[6] Jolly, J., *Recht und Sitte*, p. 132; *Viṣṇu.*, ch. III, vs. 72-73.
[7] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.601, note.
[8] *Rājat.*, VIII.2671, 2925.
[9] *Ibid.*, VIII.2618.
[10] *Ibid.*, VIII.2557.
[11] *Ibid.*, VII.1501.
[12] *Ibid.*, VIII.756.
[13] *Ibid.*, VII.1501; VIII.3132.

This raises a further problem. If the *rājasthānīya* Alaṁkāra was the chief justice, what were the functions of the other *rājasthānīyamantriṇaḥ* and the *rājagṛhyas*?[1] Stein has suggested that they were the subordinate judicial officers.[2]

The term *dvārādhipa*,[3] literally 'Lord of the gate' or gates', along with its synonyms *dvārapati*,[4] *dvāreśa*,[5] *dvāranāyaka*,[6] *dvārādhikārin*,[7] *dvārādhīśvara*,[8] is probably the most frequent administrative office to be found throughout the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. From all the references it is evident that it was a ministerial office like that of the *kampana* (the Commander-in-Chief). Sometimes two charges—that of the Commander-in-Chief and the 'Lord of the gate' were held by one and the same person.[9] The post of the Commander-in-Chief is commonly found in the whole of ancient India, but the office of the *dvārādhipa* is peculiar to Kashmir. The political history of medieval Kashmir and the strategic importance of the routes leading to the valley made it imperative to appoint a special high official to whom was specifically assigned the duty of guarding the frontiers. This high charge was held by the *dvārādhipa* or 'the Warden of the Marches.'

While describing the invasion of Kashmir by Uccala, the descendant of the lateral branch of Lohara and later the ruler of Kashmir (A.D. 1101-11), during King Harṣa's reign (A.D. 1809-1101), Kalhaṇa mentions the 'Commandant of the gate' *(dvāreśa)*, Sujjaka, who was sitting at ease and was taken by surprise in an attack by Uccala.[10] The use of the term *dvāreśa* here makes it doubtful whether Kalhaṇa means to refer to the mere commandant of a watch-station or to the 'Warden of the

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1501; VIII.3132.
[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.601, note.
[3] *Rājat.*, V.214; VII.576; VIII.633.
[4] *Ibid.*, VI.179, 281; VII.223, 584, 912, 1172; VIII.756.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1301; VIII.2254, 2493, 2662, 2852, 2937.
[6] *Ibid.*, VI.325; VIII.185.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.216, 995, 1178; VIII.1042.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.178, 2501-3.
[9] *Ibid.*, VII.1319.
[10] *Ibid.*, VII.1301.

Marches', who must have had all the routes under his charge. Likewise there arises another doubt whether there was only one 'Lord of the gate', or many. The context of the above verse shows that here *dvāreśa* represents merely the commandant of the watch-station on the Toṣamaidān route. During the reign of King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49), Utpala, the murderer of King Sussala, when attempting to re-enter Kashmir from Puṣiāṇanāḍa (Pushian, a village at the south foot of the Pir Panjal Pass), was caught high up in the mountains by the commandant of the guard-station at Śūrapura.[1] Here Kalhaṇa uses the words *draṅgādhīśvara, draṅgādhipa, draṅgeśa* for the commandant of the watch-station.[2] Thus we find a commandant in charge of the Kārkoṭadraṅga at the Toṣamaidān route, and another of the Śūrapura *draṅga*, on the Pir Panjal Pass.[3] Similarly there must have been guardians of all the watch-stations, while throughout the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, we find only one high post of the 'Warden of the Marches' *(dvārapati)*—the office held by Kalhaṇa's father, Campaka, during King Harṣa's reign (A.D.1089-1101).[4] When referring to new appointments Kalhaṇa never mentions more than one person at a time being put in charge of the *dvāra*.[5] *Dvārakārya* (the duty of the *dvāras*) is also occasionally mentioned as a specific office, no doubt implying the post of 'Lord of the gate'.[6] In a verse Kalhaṇa mentions that *mahattama* Sahela was Commander-in-Chief *(kampaneśa)* of King Harṣa's army as well as the 'Lord of the gate',[7] which shows that the 'Lord of the gate' was a general term for the 'Warden of the Marches' and the post was bestowed as a very high ministerial office unlike that of the ordinary *draṅgeśa*. Otherwise it could not have been combined with the post of the Commander-in-Chief, which, as already shown, was a high ministerial office. We must conclude that Kalhaṇa, in the reference

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.140; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.140, note; vol. II, p. 399.
[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.1577-80.
[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 292.
[4] *Rājat.*, VII.1177.
[5] E. g. *Ibid.*, VIII.573.
[6] *Rājat.*, VIII.790, 2354.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.1319.

to Sujjaka above, uses the term *dvāreśa* loosely, and actually means by it the commandant of the frontier watch-station. This is, however, the only reference we have found where the term has this broader connotation.

The post of *dvāreśa* might have been a dangerous one. Thus, during the reign of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63), the brave Bimba held this charge and lost his life while fighting against the Khaśas.[1] Rājeśvara, the son of Bhadreśvara, then took this charge, but he too was killed by the Ḍāmaras of Kramarājya (modern Kamraz).[2] Strong men, however, seem to have held this office for long periods and were even sometimes requested by the kings to retain the post against their wishes. Thus, during the reign of King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89), Kandarpa was made 'Lord of the gate'. He crushed the Ḍāmaras and even won victories at Rājapurī. Being irritable by nature he repeatedly resigned the charge, but was every time conciliated by the king.[3] This minister seems to have dealt directly with the feudal chiefs and neighbouring kings, realizing tribute from them and issuing orders to them as the king's viceroy. Thus the brave Kandarpa, who was the Lord of the 'gate' during King Kalaśa's reign (A.D. 1063-89), crushed the Ḍāmaras, and the neighbouring chiefs *(sāmantas)* touched his orders with their crest ornaments.[4] In fact, this office was considered as a great honour. During King Harṣa's time Ānanda, who had got the post of *pādāgra* (revenue), was still aspiring to get that of the 'Lord of the gate.'[5]

Dvārakārya, or the work of guarding the routes, was so vulnerable a charge that even the enemies of the Kashmir kings seem to have organised such an office. During King Sussala's reign, Bimba, a step-brother of the Commander-in-Chief *(kampaneśa)* Tilaka, went over to the king's enemies and accepted from them this charge.[6] Military posts like those of the

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.216-17.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.223, 364, 576.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.576ff.
[4] *Rājat.*, VII.576-80.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.993-95.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.790.

Commander-in-Chief and the 'Lord of the gate' seem to have obtained great importance during the time of the Lohara dynasties, especially during that of the second. King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) did not pay any special regard to his personal servants, and, accepting the established order, bestowed the various high state offices upon his father's ministers. Nevertheless, Kalhaṇa mentions the appointment of Kandarpa to the charge of the 'gate' and Madana to the chief command of the army *(kampana)*.[1] Whether they were the ministers of his father or were newly appointed by him, the specific mention of only these two high ministerial posts establishes their importance in the state.

Very often in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* occurs the term *kampana* or *kampanā*. While Wilson, Troyer and Dutta have taken this word as referring to a territory, Stein has quite correctly interpreted it as a term for 'army.'[2] By the titles *kampanādhipa*, *kampanādhīśa*, *kampanāpati* and *kampaneśa*, is invariably meant the Commander-in-Chief or General.[3] In the *Lokaprakāśa* attributed to Kṣemendra, *kampanāpati* is mentioned in a list of the great state officers between the *dvārapati* and the *aśvapati*, the commander of the horses.[4] It refers to the *kampanāpati* thus :

Prajānām paramaḥ kampo mohakampam nivārayet

[The greatest terror should remove the perplexity and fear of the people.] The etymology from the root *kamp* appears to be false. It seems to be of Latin origin by way of Greek,[5] from *campus* meaning originally an open field, and then as a 'camp', from that to the 'army'. As this word had long established itself in the common vocabulary no one seems to have known its origin, for in one reference we find even Kalhaṇa

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.886-87.

[2] Wilson, *Essay*, pp. 73, 76; Troyer, *Rādjaterangiṇī*, vol. III, p. 569. Lassen, (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 1049), connected it with a river.

[3] *Rājat.*, V.447; VI.228, 230, 233, 237, 259; VII.154, 267, 365, 399, 579, 887, 923, 1319, 1362, 1366; VIII.177, 180, 627, 647, 652, 685, 698, 860, 960, 1046, 1624. In *Rājat.*, VIII.1430, *kampanodgrāhaka* is also once mentioned. Pandey Ramtej Shastri's ed. (1960) has *kampanodvāhakaḥ*.

[4] *Lokaprakāśa*, ch. IV, p. 59.

[5] Liebich, von B., *BSOAS*, vol. VI, 1931, p. 431.

connecting it with trembling.[1] In the same way we find Kṣemendra trying to give very interesting etymological interpretations of the word *divira*, which we know was of foreign origin.

Out of the five great ministerial offices, we have hitherto dealt with those of the Prime Minister *(sarvādhikārin)*, the Lord of the 'gate' *(dvārādhipa)*, the Commander-in-Chief *(kampana)*, and the Chief Justice *(rājasthānīya)*. The fifth is not so easy to identify. There were several important offices other than the above four, such as those of the minister for war and peace *(saṁdhivigrahika)*,[2] the prefect of the city *(nagarādhipa)*,[3] the minister for domestic affairs *(gṛhakṛtya)*,[4] the *pādāgra*[5] and the *kherī*.[6] One reference suggests that the post of *pādāgra* was the fifth of the five great offices. While describing the troubles created by the Ḍāmaras during the reign of King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49) Kalhaṇa writes : "Also Citraratha and others who were soon to become the great ministers *(mahāmātyas)* took to grass as their festive dress (i.e. became poor)."[7] In a subsequent verse Kalhaṇa mentions the various appointments made by King Jayasiṁha : "The king then placed Citraratha, Śrīvaka, Bhāsa and others in charge of the *pādāgra* (post), the 'gate', *kherī* (district) and other offices respectively."[8] The Lord of the 'gate', the Commander-in-Chief and the *rājasthānīya* are often mentioned together as high posts,[9] while reference to the *pādāgra* as a high office is found only once,[10] which suggests that it was not as great an office as the others. If *pādāgra* was the chief revenue officer, the comparative fewness of the references to this post is very curious. It is perhaps due

[1] Cf. *Rājat.*, VIII.575.

[2] *Rājat.*, IV.137, 711; VI.320; VIII.1304, 3354.

[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, IV.81; VI.70, note.

[4] *Rājat.*, VI.167, 176-77; VII.42.

[5] *Ibid.*, VII.571, 994; VIII.1482, 1964, 2352; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII. 2224, note.

[6] *Ibid.*, I. 335; VIII.960, 1118, 1482, 1624.

[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.1436.

[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.1482.

[9] *Ibid.*, VIII.178-81, 573-75.

[10] *Ibid.*, VIII.1964.

to the circumstances of the age in which Kalhaṇa was writing. The internal civil strife, the ever rising power of the landed aristocracy—the Ḍāmaras, and the alliance formed with pretenders by the neighbouring kings seem to have directed the greater force of the state activity towards military rather than civil affairs, so that the office of the chief justice was combined with that of the Commander-in-Chief *(kampaneśa)*,[1] and the *pādāgra* (revenue) with that of the Lord of the 'gate'. Citraratha held the two latter offices during King Jayasiṁha's reign.[2]

The *pādāgra* office is first mentioned in the reign of King Anantadeva (A.D. 1028-63), when Haladhara, the Prime Minister, put it openly above all offices.[3] This office is here said to have been organised by Kṣema during the same king's reign. Earlier Kalhaṇa says: "Kṣema, a barber, filled the king's treasury, securing revenue by the impost of one-twelfth *(dvādaśabhāga)* and other means."[4] King Kalaśa (A.D.1063-89) being afraid of minister Nonaka's cruelty did not give him the *pādāgra* office.[5] Regarding the meaning of the term *pādāgra* Stein writes: "Etymologically the term *pādāgra* might mean the officer who stands before the feet (of the king)," but concludes from the above reference that he was chiefly concerned with revenue.[6] Collection of the taxes was evidently the chief duty of this officer. We find Citraratha to have been so persistent in increasing the imposts that the Brahmins at Avantipura held a solemn fast in protest.[7] So oppressive became his fiscal exactions that his servants confiscated even the grazing lands *(caraka)* of the sacred cows, and one cowherd burned himself to death in consequence.[8] Thus we find Citraratha, who was to become a minister *(mahāmātya)*, receiving the post of the *pādāgra*. This

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1624-25.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.1964.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.208-10.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.203.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.571.
[6] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.210, note.
[7] *Rājat.*, VIII.2224.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.2225-26.

man was later assigned the charge of the 'gate' as well.[1] The use of the word *mahāmātya* for Citraratha may signify his later charge of the 'gate', but the mention of the office of *pādāgra* even before that of the Lord of the 'gate' shows clearly enough that it was a high post of ministerial rank.

Kherī[2] is also mentioned as one of the high charges. This, as shown by Stein, is a certain district, identified by him with the Pargana now known by the name of Khur-Nāravav. The administration of *kherī* as a royal allodial domain appears to have formed a special charge as Kalhaṇa refers repeatedly to *kherī-kārya* in the sense of a high office.[3] But however important this office may have been to the royal interests, it was definitely not a great charge like that of the *pādāgra*. So great was the influence of the *pādāgra* Citraratha over King Jayasiṁha that the latter paid no heed to the complaints of the people nor did he take any steps to redress their grievances.[4] Later on the king's mind was incited against him by Mallārjuna. Fearing the king's wrath, he fled to Sureśvaratīrtha under the pretence of wishing to die there.[5] In his capacity of *pādāgra*, Citraratha appears to have amassed fabulous wealth. The confiscation of this minister's great wealth in the form of gold, clothes, equipment, horses, jewels, arms and other valuables by the king added much to the royal fortune.[6]

Another important office, called *gṛhakṛtya*, was first organised by King Śaṅkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) at the behest of the Kāyasthas, who are said to have advised him to extort money out of his subjects instead of gaining it by wars and conquests. Another office established along with this was that of *aṭṭapati-bhāga*—the department of the 'Lord of the market'.[7] *Gṛhakṛtya*

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1436, 1964.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.1482.
[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, I.335, note.
[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.2227-36.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.2341-44.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.2345-47.
[7] *Ibid.*, V.167. The normal meaning of *bhāga* is 'share'. It seems more appropriate, however, to take it here in the sense of *vibhāga*, 'section' or 'department'.

etymologically means domestic affairs. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, the editor of Kşemendra's *Narmamālā*, takes *gṛhakṛtyādhipati*, the officer in charge of the *gṛhakṛtya* office, as the head of the Home Department, who controlled both civil and military offices and also religious and charitable affairs.[1] In the text of the *Narmamālā*, however, we do not find any reference such as could indicate this office to be concerned with military affairs.

After mentioning the establishment of this department, Kalhaṇa in the subsequent verses refers to the plundering of sixty-four temples by the *gṛhakṛtyādhipati* who also levies taxes on the profits arising out of the sale of incense, sandalwood and other articles,[2] and is responsible for the resumption of the charge of the villages granted to the temples, the reduction in the annual allowance of the temple corporations, fines on those who escape their duty of the forced carriage of loads, contributions for the monthly pay of the *skandakas* (village headmen), and *grāmakāyasthas* (village accountants or *patwārīs*). All these items of revenue and taxation filled the king's treasury and were under the direct control of the *gṛhakṛtya* office. It was thus a public office, concerned rather with the state revenues than with king's domestic affairs.[3]

Kşemendra in his *Narmamālā* places this office as the highest in the hierarchy of officers concerned with home affairs, for he tells us that the greatest ambition of a Kāyastha is to become the *gṛhakṛtyādhipati*.[4] Kāyastha, as we have seen, is a general term for all the minor state functionaries. We have mention of the *aśvaghāsakāyastha*[5] (clerk of fodder for horses) and the *saṁdhivigrahakāyastha*[6] (clerk of peace and war), which shows that the Kāyasthas were also concerned with military and foreign affairs. This does not mean, however, that all the Kāyasthas came under the charge of the *gṛhakṛtya* department or that it dealt with military affairs also. The

[1] *N. Mālā.*, Intro., p. 12.
[2] *Rājat.*, V.168-69.
[3] *Ibid.*, V.170-76.
[4] *N. Mālā.*, ch. 1, v. 32.
[5] *Rājat.*, III.489.
[6] *KSS*, vol. I.

Kāyasthas with special appellations must have been under the charge of the ministers concerned with respective departments.

The *gṛhakṛtyādhipati* had the authority to choose and appoint his own officers. Kṣemendra tells that there were seven executive officers and eight staff-bearers working under him.[1] Even when the office was first organised during the reign of King Saṁkaravarman, Kalhaṇa informs that there were five secretaries *(diviras)* and one treasurer *(gañjavara)* appointed under him.[2] Other officers, working under him, were the *paripālaka*, the *niyogi*, the *gañjadivira* and the *grāmadivira*.[3] Madhusudan Kaul takes *paripālaka* as the governor of a province.[4] Not being a big empire such as that of the Mauryas, Kashmir, like other smaller kingdoms of India at that time, had few territorial divisions. The valley of Kashmir has from very early times been divided into two chief parts, known as Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya. There was only one governor *(maṇḍaleśa)* of the whole of the Valley, in charge of both divisions.[5] A *maṇḍaleśa* was also sometimes placed in charge of Lohara, which in our period was generally governed by a member of the royal family.[6] Thus we cannot take the term *paripālaka* as meaning the governor of a province. We find no direct reference to this post in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. In one verse, however, occurs the term *paripālyam kurvan* where it is mentioned that the hard-hearted Ānanda had been put by the king in charge of the *pādāgra* and other posts. Stein is not certain about the meaning of the expression, and from the reference made to the corporation of priests at Parihāsapura, he concludes that Ānanda had something to do with the administration of the property of the corporation. To us it suggests that this expression has some connection with the post of the *paripālaka* as mentioned by Kṣemendra, because in the *Narmamālā* this officer is mainly

[1] *N. Mālā.*, ch. 1, vs. 34-37
[2] *Rājat.*, V.177.
[3] *N. Mālā.*, ch. 1, vs. 51ff
[4] *Ibid*, Intro., p. 12.
[5] *Rājat.*, VII.996, 1178, 1227, 1231, 1240, etc.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.1228, 1814, 2029.

responsible for temples and endowments. It would seem that this was the chief function of the *paripālaka*, an important member of the *gṛhakṛtya's* staff. Could this post be like that of the modern *dharmārtha* officer who is mainly concerned with the religious endowments and grants ?[1]

The only other reference we find to the *gṛhakṛtya* office concerns the reign of King Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-28), when a low-born Kāyastha Bhadreśvara was put by Prime Minister Tuṅga in the charge of this office. On his appointment he is said to have cut off the sustenance of gods, cows, Brahmins, the poor, the stranger and the royal servants.[2] Kṣemendra also refers to the *gṛhakṛtyādhipati* as *mahattama*,[3] a term often found in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[4] Though its precise significance is not clear it seems to have been often concerned with revenue administration. Sahelaka of the *purohita* corporation at the temple of Samarasvāmin, who as the advisor of Vijayamalla, King Harṣa's brother, had been hateful to the king (Harṣa A.D. 1089-1101), obtained the position of prefect of property *(arthanāyaka)* by securing a doubled revenue, and having once obtained access to the king, became in time his *mahattama*. Sahela, the *mahattama* is again referred to as connected with the embezzlement of King Harṣa's money.[5] When discovered he is said to have tried to wreak vengeance on the king by directing his attention towards difficult military expeditions. All these verses suggest that *mahattama* was perhaps another name for *gṛhakṛtyādhipati*, but in another

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.994, note.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII.42-43.

[3] *N. Mālā.*, ch. 1, v. 60.

[4] The term *mahattara*—comparative formation of *mahat* (great)—is given by Monier Williams in a special sense of the 'head or oldest man of a village'. In Indian inscriptions, however, we have the superlative formation *mahattama* used in some technical way. (*CII*, vol. III, No. 38, pp. 168-70; No. 46, p. 218). The term *mahattaras* is taken as 'village elders' by R. C. Sharma (*Indian Feudalism*, p. 307). According to R.S. Tripathi, *mahattara* and *mahattama* were the two classes of elders of villages who cooperated with the government officials in the management of rural affairs (*History of Kanauj*, p. 341).

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.1170-71.

verse we find that there could be more than one *mahattama* at the same time.[1] The term seems to have implied some important office, but usually the one connected with revenue administration.

Kṣemendra tells us that King Ananta curbed the power of the Kāyasthas and relieved the administration of their oppression and atrocities.[2] It is significant that we do not find any mention of the *gṛhakṛtya* office, which is put at the head of the hierarchy of officials concerned with home affairs by Kṣemendra,[3] anywhere after the reign of King Saṁgrāmarāja, the father of King Ananta.[4] It is clear from Kṣemendra's statement that all offices of state from the *gṛhakṛtyādhipati* down to the smallest village officer were sternly repressed by him. It would seem that Ananta abolished the corrupt *gṛhakṛtya* office entirely. On the other hand at the beginning of this king's reign, Kṣema, a barber, filled the king's treasury by the impost of twelfth part *(dvādaśabhāga)* and other imposts and later organised the *pādāgra* office.[5]

The valley of Kashmir has from very early times been divided into two chief parts, known by their modern names as Kamraz and Maraz. These terms are derived from the Sanskrit Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya which are found very frequently in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as well as in later chronicles.[6] On the evidence of various references in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the prevailing notions among the people, and Abul-Fazl's *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Stein takes Maraz as comprising the districts on both sides of the Vitastā above Srinagar, and Kamraz those below.[7] We have already mentioned that both these divisions were placed under the charge of a governor or *maṇḍaleśa*. The whole of the Valley has from a very early time been subdivided for administrative purposes into a considerable number of small districts formerly known as

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.560.
[2] *N. Mālā.*, ch. 1, v. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, v. 32.
[4] *Rājat.*, VII.42.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.203, 210.
[6] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, II.15, note.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 436.

viṣayas,[1] and, in more recent times, as Parganas. Kṣemendra, in his *Lokaprakāśa*, tells us that Kashmir comprised twenty-seven *viṣayas* in his time. The great majority of Parganas known in recent times can be safely assumed to have existed during Hindu rule, because references to these occur in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Kṣemendra's list, however, gives some of the names so corruptly as to be beyond recognition.[2] Abul-Fazl's account is the first which presents us with a systematic statement of Kashmir Parganas. This list also shows that the districts were from time to time increased in number or were readjusted within certain limits according to administrative requirements or fancies. The report of Āsafkhān, reproduced by Abul-Fazl, shows thirty-eight Parganas while the earlier report of Qazi Ali contained forty-one. The difference is to be accounted for by the amalgamation of some and the splitting up of other Parganas. They varied greatly in size, as is shown by the striking contrasts in revenue assessment. Thus, for example, Patan was assessed at 5,300 *kharwars*, while the revenue from Kamraz amounted to 446,500 *kharwars*. This division must have comprised a number of Parganas. The *viṣaya* or Pargana in medieval times was placed under the charge of an officer.[3] The Sikhs, on their conquest of the Valley, seemed to have found thirty-six Parganas as the accepted traditional number. Stein considers Major Bates's list as the most accurate for the Dogra rule. Subsequently under Lawrence, tehsils were constituted after the fashion of British provinces, and Lawrence's list shows eleven such tehsils.[4] According to the Census Report of 1941, the central province of Kashmir State had fifteen districts.[5]

A curious traditional verse of Kalhaṇa puts the number of villages in ancient Kashmir at 66,063. The same verse is found twice in Kṣemendra's *Lokaprakāśa*[7] and there is a reference to about the same number of villages in Kashmir in

[1] *Rājat.*, V.51; VIII.1260, 1413, 2697.
[2] Cf. *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 60.
[3] *Rājat.*, VIII. 2697 mentions *viṣayādhikāritvam*.
[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, pp. 436-37.
[5] *Census of India*, Kashmir, 1941, p. 72.
[6] *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 60. See *IS*, vol. VIII, p. 375.

verse we find that there could be more than one *mahattama* at the same time.[1] The term seems to have implied some important office, but usually the one connected with revenue administration.

Kṣemendra tells us that King Ananta curbed the power of the Kāyasthas and relieved the administration of their oppression and atrocities.[2] It is significant that we do not find any mention of the *gṛhakṛtya* office, which is put at the head of the hierarchy of officials concerned with home affairs by Kṣemendra,[3] anywhere after the reign of King Saṁgrāmarāja, the father of King Ananta.[4] It is clear from Kṣemendra's statement that all offices of state from the *gṛhakṛtyādhipati* down to the smallest village officer were sternly repressed by him. It would seem that Ananta abolished the corrupt *gṛhakṛtya* office entirely. On the other hand at the beginning of this king's reign, Kṣema, a barber, filled the king's treasury by the impost of twelfth part *(dvādaśabhāga)* and other imposts and later organised the *pādāgra* office.[5]

The valley of Kashmir has from very early times been divided into two chief parts, known by their modern names as Kamraz and Maraz. These terms are derived from the Sanskrit Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya which are found very frequently in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as well as in later chronicles.[6] On the evidence of various references in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the prevailing notions among the people, and Abul-Fazl's *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Stein takes Maraz as comprising the districts on both sides of the Vitastā above Srinagar, and Kamraz those below.[7] We have already mentioned that both these divisions were placed under the charge of a governor or *maṇḍaleśa*. The whole of the Valley has from a very early time been subdivided for administrative purposes into a considerable number of small districts formerly known as

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.560.
[2] *N. Mālā.*, ch. 1, v. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, v. 32.
[4] *Rājat.*, VII.42.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.203, 210.
[6] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, II.15, note.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 436.

viṣayas,[1] and, in more recent times, as Parganas. Kṣemendra, in his *Lokaprakāśa*, tells us that Kashmir comprised twenty-seven *viṣayas* in his time. The great majority of Parganas known in recent times can be safely assumed to have existed during Hindu rule, because references to these occur in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Kṣemendra's list, however, gives some of the names so corruptly as to be beyond recognition.[2] Abul-Fazl's account is the first which presents us with a systematic statement of Kashmir Parganas. This list also shows that the districts were from time to time increased in number or were readjusted within certain limits according to administrative requirements or fancies. The report of Āsafkhān, reproduced by Abul-Fazl, shows thirty-eight Parganas while the earlier report of Qazi Ali contained forty-one. The difference is to be accounted for by the amalgamation of some and the splitting up of other Parganas. They varied greatly in size, as is shown by the striking contrasts in revenue assessment. Thus, for example, Patan was assessed at 5,300 *kharwars*, while the revenue from Kamraz amounted to 446,500 *kharwars*. This division must have comprised a number of Parganas. The *viṣaya* or Pargana in medieval times was placed under the charge of an officer.[3] The Sikhs, on their conquest of the Valley, seemed to have found thirty-six Parganas as the accepted traditional number. Stein considers Major Bates's list as the most accurate for the Dogra rule. Subsequently under Lawrence, tehsils were constituted after the fashion of British provinces, and Lawrence's list shows eleven such tehsils.[4] According to the Census Report of 1941, the central province of Kashmir State had fifteen districts.[5]

A curious traditional verse of Kalhaṇa puts the number of villages in ancient Kashmir at 66,063. The same verse is found twice in Kṣemendra's *Lokaprakāśa*[7] and there is a reference to about the same number of villages in Kashmir in

[1] *Rājat.*, V.51; VIII.1260, 1413, 2697.
[2] Cf. *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 60.
[3] *Rājat.*, VIII. 2697 mentions *viṣayādhikāritvam*.
[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, pp. 436-37.
[5] *Census of India*, Kashmir, 1941, p. 72.
[6] *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 60. See *IS*, vol. VIII, p. 375.

Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[1] Taking the number of villages as recorded by the Census Report of 1941 as 3518 for the province of Kashmir, one would feel that Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra and Jonarāja have all given us very exaggerated numbers.[2] Stein writes: "The large number of administrative sub-divisions, which goes back to an early date, may be taken as an indication of the dense population of the Valley."[3] The figures of the population of the Valley for about the past hunderd years throw some interesting light on the increase in population :

1835	200,000[4]
1891	814,241
1941	1,728,705[5]

From the above figures we find that the population in 1891 increased four times as against that given in the year 1835. This increase occurred despite the fact that by the famines of 1877-78 three-fifths of the population had been wiped out. Thus the population in the most prosperous days of Hindu rule must have been quite dense.

Taking the above record in view Stein says : "The existence of a very great number of deserted village-sites in all parts of the country, the remains already alluded to of a far more extended system of irrigation, the number of great temple-ruins and the uniform tradition of the people—all point to the same conclusion."[6] The rise of the population figures from 814,241 to 1,728,705, or about double, from the years 1891 to 1941, further confirms the above views. It is quite feasible that the population of medieval Kashmir was greater than it is today. Even Sharīf-ud-dīn, whose information was collected about A.D. 1400, and who, as Stein tells us, is on the whole accurate and matter of fact, records : "It is popularly believed that in the whole of the province—plains and mountains together—are comprised 100,000 villages."[7] It is curious, adds Stein, that

[1] *Jonarāja, Rājat.*, v. 153.

[2] *Census of India*, Kashmir, 1941, pp. 72-73.

[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 438.

[4] This is the estimate of Lawrence. (*The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 223ff.)

[5] *Census of India Report*, Kashmir, 1941, pp. 72-73.

[6] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 438.

[7] Vide *ibid.*, p. 439.

Mirza Haider, who had ruled Kashmir himself, copies the statement without modification or dissent.[1] Thus from the ever-increasing figures of the population of the valley as gleaned from the various Census Reports of the recent past, we are inclined to take the chronicles at their word and believe that the Valley was very densely populated in medieval times. Only thus is it possible that such a large number of villages could have existed in the past. We have, however, no clear idea as to what actually constituted a village. It may well be that the figure of 66,063 villages includes very small settlements such as are nowadays included within the boundaries of larger villages.

Many of the writers on ancient Indian polity mention the territorial division of rural areas into *grāmas*, with larger groupings of ten *grāmas*, one hundred *grāmas*, a thousand *grāmas*, and ten thousand *grāmas*, — the last division (ten thousand) is mentioned only by Śukra.[2] We have no evidence to show that the rural areas of Kashmir were organised into such divisions but in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and Kṣemendra's *Lokaprakāśa* and *Narmamālā* we get a clear idea of the existence of an organised local government with graded officials.[3] The smallest unit of local government was the village, and the representatives of the state in the village were generally known as *grāmakāyasthas*.[4]

The term *divira*, as it occurs in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, is evidently used for officials who had to deal with writing and keeping of accounts.[5] The proper explanation of the term is given by Bühler while discussing its occurrence in the Valabhi grants of Dharasena I. In the St. Petersburg Lexicon, which is followed by Monier Williams, *divira* is said to be a proper name and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VI.130; VII.111, 119) is quoted as the authority. As pointed out by Bühler, the reading '*divira*' is merely a faulty reading of Troyer's edition for *śivirāt*, the latter word being used

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 439.

[2] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 1; *Manu.*, ch. VII, vs. 114-15; *Viṣṇu.*, III.7, 8, 9; *Śukra.*, ch. I, lines 383-84; *Agnipurāṇa*, ch. CXXIII, vol. II, p. 796.

[3] *Rājat.*, V.175; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V.175, note; also vol. I, p. 210; *N. Mālā*, ch. I, vs. 97-140.

[4] *Rājat.*, V.175.

[5] *Ibid.*, VII.111, 119; VIII.131.

in the Calcutta edition and the Śāradā MSS. The other two verses referred to above have been wrongly translated by Troyer, otherwise it would have been recognised that a *divira* must be an official.[1] The two verses of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* run as follows:

> *Purā devamukhākhyasya divirasya kilājani Āpūpikāyāṁ veśyāyāṁ putraścandramukhābhidhaḥ ||*
>
> [Formerly, a son, called Candramukha, was born to a *divira* called Devamukha by a courtesan Āpūpikā.]
>
> The second verse is:
> *Itthaṁ mantriṣu ayogyeṣu kṣāntisīle ca bhūpatau*
> *kecidudrekamabhajandaraddiviraḍāmarāḥ.*
>
> [While the ministers were thus unworthy and the king was of forgiving disposition, some Daradas, *diviras* and Ḍāmaras became overbearing.]

In the land-grants *divira* or *divirapati* is always used as a title, especially for the officials who drew up the *śāsanas*.[2] This shows also that it denoted the holder of some office. Kṣemendra in his *Lokaprakāśa* (chapter III) speaks of various classes of *diviras—gañjadivira, nagaradivira, grāmadivira, khavāsadivira*. Also in giving the forms of *huṇḍīs* and other bonds he says : "I will now propound all written documents according to the details of each in their proper order, for the benefit of the *diviras*".[3] Bühler is quite right in taking these officials as concerned with writing and accounts, and in equating the word with the modern *kārkūn*—a writer and accountant. Bühler was not able to find an etymology for the word in Sanskrit. He suggested that it might be connected with the old Persian *dipi*, 'writing', which occurs in the Cuneiform inscriptions.[4] Kṣemendra in his *Narmamālā* gives a very humorous etymology of the word *divira—divi*, 'in the sky' and *ra (rodana)* 'weeping', i.e. one who weeps in the sky. The *divira* is said to be the incarnation of the domestic

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, 1877, p. 10.
[2] *Loc. cit.*
[3] *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 11.
[4] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 10.

accountant of the *daityas* who, when they met with destruction at the hands of Viṣṇu, wept so bitterly in the sky that Kali took pity on him and granted him pen *(kalama)* to terrify the *devas* (Gods).[1] This story gives a good indication of the attitude of the people in general to the oppressive official class, and suggests that the *diviras* were even ready to take advantage of the temples and other religious foundations, a fact which can be confirmed from the evidence of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[2]

In the *Lokaprakāśa* Kṣemendra next mentions the Kāyasthas.[3] This term occurs very frequently in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. From a comparison of all the references we believe that in Medieval Kashmir it tended to have general meaning signifying the clerks and minor officials, including the *diviras*, in whatever department of the state they might be working.[4] The Kāyastha appears as a writer in the land-grants of other parts of India.[5] Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa paint a deplorable picture of the atrocities committed by this section of Kashmir society.[6] The Kāyasthas besought King Jayāpīḍa of the Kārakoṭa dynasty (A.D. 751-782) to avoid wars and conquests and to amass wealth instead by oppressing his own subjects.[7] These officials, when in charge of the collection of revenue and taxation, during Jayāpīḍa's time, took from the subjects all the harvest including the cultivator's share. In fact they themselves appropriated practically the whole of it, leaving only a small fraction for the king.[8] King Harṣa is said to have oppressed his people through the Kāyasthas, and we are told that he did not even spare his subjects 'a clod of earth' owing to the heavy fines that he inflicted.[9]

[1] *N. Mālā*, ch. I, vs. 9-15.

[2] *Rājat.*, V.176-77; VII.119.

[3] *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 11.

[4] *Rājat.*, IV.90, 621-23, 629; V.439; VII.38, 1226: VIII.85-114, 131, 664, 2383.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 222, 340-44, 350-59; vol. IV, pp. 99, 103; vol. V, p. 115; vol. VIII, p. 140; vol. IX, pp. 68, 181.

[6] *Rājat.*, V.439; VII.149; *N. Mālā*, ch. I, passim; *S. Māta.*, I.49.

[7] *Rājat.*, IV.621-22.

[8] *Ibid.*, IV.628-29.

[9] *Ibid.*, VII.149, 1226.

Kalhaṇa refers to the Kāyasthas, *diviras*, and courtesans as worse than poisoned arrows, for they have been trained under a teacher's instruction to extort money from the people.[1] Elsewhere he refers to them as a plague among the people, as serious as cholera, colic, and exhaustion, which rapidly destroys everybody. The crab kills its father and the white ant destroys her mother, but the ungrateful Kāyastha, when he has become powerful, destroys everything.[2] He is further compared to a goblin *(vetāla)* and a poison-tree.[3] Kṣemendra tells us that a Kāyastha's greatest ambition is to rise to the post of the *gṛhakṛtyādhipati*, the minister for domestic affairs.[4] One of the Kāyasthas even rose to the position of a prime minister during the reign of King Sussala (A.D. 1112-1120).[5]

The more efficient kings tried to curb the power of these petty tyrants whose extortions were universally resented. Kṣemendra blames earlier monarchs for allowing the Kāyasthas to commit such oppression, and praises his contemporary King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63) for the restoration of peace and order in the state by the wholesale dismissal and imprisonment of Kāyasthas.[6] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* confirms that King Ananta tightened up the administrative machinery and restored good government.[7] Uccala, the usurper who followed Harṣa, is said to have completely crushed the power of the Kāyasthas by degradation, dismissal and imprisonment.[8] Thus the Kāyasthas evidently profited by the rule of a weak king but were never safe from punishment under a strong one. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* shows that the term '*kāyastha*' in Kashmir during the period under review did not signify a caste, as it does in most parts of India to-day, but a class of people engaged in government service, for in a certain verse, a Brahmin, Śivaratha, is referred to as a *kāyastha* in his

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.131.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.89, 92-106.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.85-91.
[4] *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, v. 32.
[5] *Rājat.*, VIII.560.
[6] *N. Mālā.*, ch, I, vs. 3-4.
[7] *Rājat.*, VII.205ff.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.53, 92-106.

official capacity.[1]

One of the most important duties of any central government and secretariat is the control and supervision of the provincial, district and local administration. The efficiency of the administration depends to a great extent upon the ability of the administrative officers and the accuracy with which they draft the orders of the Central Government. Kauṭilya says : "Government is writ and writ is government".[2] Śukra declares that royalty does not reside in the person of the king but in his sealed and signed orders.[3]

In medieval Kashmir, a developed system of record-keeping and accountancy was a regular feature of the government as it appears to have been in other parts of India also.[4] We find several references to royal orders being reduced to writing by the secretarial officers at the Record Office *(akṣapaṭala)*.[5] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the word occurs during the reign of King Yaśaskara (A.D. 939) who was able to detect a fraudulent transaction on account of the unusually high fee paid to the official recorder *(adhikaraṇalekhaka)* when it was registered at the Record Office.[6] Another passage is of special interest as it shows that title-deeds were issued and recorded by this office. King Cakravarman (A.D. 923) granted the village of Helu to Raṅga, a *śvapaka* whose daughters the king had married, as an *agrahāra*, but the recorder of the official document *(paṭṭopādhyāya)* did not execute the document relating to the grant *(dānapaṭṭaka)*. Raṅga proceeded to the *akṣapaṭala* office and intimidated the official to write : *raṅgassa helu diṇṇa* (Helu is granted to Raṅga).[7] Some have rendered the word *akṣapaṭala* as 'Court of Justice and Archives' but Stein prefers to translate it as

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.2383.

[2] *Arthaśāstra.*, Bk., II, ch. 10.

[3] *Śukra.*, ch. II, line 587.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 305; vol. XX, p. 128; *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 7; *Harṣacarita*, ch. 7, para 2; *Ant. Chamba.*, p. 133; *CII*, vol. III, No. 60, p. 257.

[5] *Rājat.*, V.301, 389, 398; VI.287; VII.162, 1604.

[6] *Ibid.*, VI.38.

[7] *Ibid.*, V.397-98.

'Accountant General's Office' on the evidence of the gloss in a manuscript of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which explains *akṣapaṭala* as *gaṇanādhipatisthāna*.[1] Dr. Fleet renders it as 'Record Office' or 'Court of Rolls'.[2] Dr. R. S. Sharma takes *akṣapaṭala* as a term for officer-in-charge for 'Accounts and Revenue.'[3] R. S. Pandit takes it as 'Accounts Office'.[4] In Kashmir it actually seems to have dealt with records and accountancy.

[1] *Rājat.*, V.397-98; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V.397-8, note.

[2] *Akṣapaṭalika* and *mahākṣapaṭalika* are mentioned. Cf. Bühler, *Indische Palæographie*, p. 94, tr. Fleet, p. 102 vide Vogel, *loc. cit.*

[3] Sharma, R. S., *IF*, p. 188.

[4] Pandit R. S., *Rājat.*, p. 610.

CHAPTER THREE

ARMY, REVENUE AND JUSTICE

ARMY

The army is an important element of government and according to Kauṭilya, it is one of the seven *prakṛtis* (elements) of the state or sovereignty.[1] Śukra says : "The army is the group of men, animals, etc., equipped with arms, missiles, etc."[2]

Geographically though the valley of Kashmir was guarded by high moutain walls, there were routes spread in all directions and on their protection depended its safety. It was, in fact, a hard task to safeguard these routes from foreign invasions, from the cupidity of the neighbouring chiefs and from the turmoils and troubles created by the Ḍāmaras in alliance with rival claimants to the throne. We have already referred to Alberūnī's remarks about the anxiety of the Kashmirians for the natural strength of their country and the care to keep a stronghold upon the 'gates'.[3] Thus, in order to tide over the dangers of foreign invasion and civil war at home, it was imperative for the kings of Kashmir to maintain a well-organised and powerful army.

Indian tradition almost unanimously accepts a fourfold division of the army—infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants.[4] The Buddhist Jātakas also refer to this fourfold force.[5] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, we find mention of infantry, cavalry and elephants, though the last becomes rarer as we approach the times

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. VI, ch. 1; *Agnipurāṇa*, vol. II, ch. CCXXXIX, p.853; *Viṣṇu.*, ch. III, v. 33.

[2] *Śukra.*, ch. IV, sec. 7, line 2. Cf. *Kām.*, sec. IV, vs. 65-67.

[3] *Supra*, p. 15.

[4] *Arthaśāstra.*, Bk. X, ch. 4; *Manu.*, ch. VII, v. 185, states that the constitution of the army was sixfold, viz., elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, officers and attendants. Even in this classification the main division is in four. Cf. Indian game of chess. See also S. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki* (1958), vol. II, p. 139; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 981-83.

[5] *Jātakas*, vol. II, Nos. 66, 70, 71; vol. III, Nos. 157, 161; vol. IV. Nos. 80, 307, etc. vide Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India*, p. 154.

of the Lohara dynasties. We do not find any reference to chariots as a part of the forces. The chariots as a major element in the army had disappeared from India even in Gupta times, and, moreover, it is evident that the geographical features of the country did not allow the use of chariots or fast carriages even for conveying Generals from place to place. In place of chariots we read of litters *(karṇīrathas)* carried by men. King Lalitāditya is said to have had one lakh and a quarter of these litters in his army, while Jayāpīḍa had only eighty thousand.[1] Kalhaṇa gives us numerical strength of King Śaṁkaravarman's (ninth century) army when he marched from the 'gate',[2] but litters are nowhere mentioned. We do not find any mention of litters as part of the army in later times, except that of the litter in which Śaṁkaravarman's dead body was brought from Uraśā.[3] Another possible meaning of *karṇī* is 'missile' or 'arrow.' *Karṇīratha* could accordingly mean the 'chariot for arrows' or quiver.[4] In view of the incredible number of litters mentioned one would feel tempted to take this as a mention of quivers, but specific mention of a *karṇiratha*[5] as conveying the dead body of Śaṁkaravarman does not allow one to accept any other meaning. Moreover, Prince Bhoja, the son of King Salhaṇa, the most active of the rebel princes, who rose against King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49) with the help of the Ḍāmaras, is seen carried in a litter to the king's camp. He was driving on the litter-carriers by touching their heads with his foot.[6]

As regards cavalry, Date writes : "It must be admitted that the horse was never regarded in ancient India as a superior fighting unit, and elephants, as also the chariots, continued to occupy a position higher than the cavalry."[7] It does, however, receive its due praise at the hands of Somadeva in his *Nītivākyā-*

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.407.

[2] *Ibid.*, V.137. 143-44.

[3] *Ibid.*, V.219.

[4] Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p, 257. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIV.13 also employs the term in the sense of a 'litter'.

[5] *Rājat.*, V.219.

[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.3161-65. Also see *Alberūnī's India*, vol. I, p. 206.

[7] G. T. Date, *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 45.

mṛta.[1] We often find the words '*aśvāroha, hayāroha*' for horse-riders in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Next to that of the infantry the military value of the horse was much appreciated in Kashmir. Along with the foot soldiers we find mention of mounted soldiers, which shows that the kings of Kashmir maintained horsemen also as a part of the regular standing force.[2] King Jayāpīḍa of the Kārkoṭa dynasty is stated to have had horses in his forces, and he is said to have given a lakh of horses less one to the Brahmins.[3] Kalhaṇa's narrative here is somewhat confused because first he mentions this king having asked the elders in his kingdom as to the number of litters *(karṇīrathas)* that his grandfather Lalitāditya had; suddenly after mentioning that this king was not disappointed for not having had the same number, he starts talking of his military strength and the donation of horses to Brahmins. The gift of cows to Brahmins is very commonly referred to in early Indian literature, but we know of no other reference to their being given horses.

Referring to King Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) Kalhaṇa specifically mentions the depletion of the resources of the country and states that this king's army contained nine lakh foot soldiers.[4] In a subsequent verse he states that it contained three hundred elephants and a lakh of horsemen as well.[5] We find specific record of horsemen in the forces of the Lohara kings. King Harṣa's horses are said to have been well-bred.[6] Kalhaṇa gives us an interesting record of a quarrel on account of a mare that took place between Harṣa's son, Bhoja, and Campaka, identified as Kalhaṇa's father.[7] He also refers to the excellent training received by Harṣa in riding, so that when he was called by Kalaśa's disaffected father Ananta to Vijayeśvara, where the latter was staying after his abdication, King Kalaśa's

[1] *Nītivākya*., ch. 22. *Bāla-Samuddeśaḥ*, verses 7-8 *(aśvabalaṁ sainyasya jaṅgamaṁ prakāraḥ)*.

[2] *Rājat*., VII.360, 902-905, 911, 1360, 1568-69; VIII.40, 394, 937.

[3] *Ibid*., IV.415.

[4] *Ibid*., V.137.

[5] *Ibid*., V.143-44.

[6] *Ibid*., VII.1333.

[7] *Ibid*., VII.1591.

horsemen could not match him in speed.[1] In Harṣa's fight against Uccala, we find specific reference to the king's cavalry force *(turagānīka)*, afraid of which the Ḍāmaras who had joined Uccala, took difficult mountainous routes to march towards the capital.[2] King Sussala's forces were very strong in cavalry, for realizing the importance of horses in the battles, he bought them at high prices.[3] So huge seems to have been the expense incurred by Kashmir kings in buying horses that Kalhaṇa talks of King Uccala as not to have wasted money on their purchase.[4] There are references to the horse as a prized animal during the reign of Jayasiṁha.[5] Special persons were employed by Kashmirian kings for training the horses. There are many references to foreign horse dealers,[6] though we do not get any definite clue to the source of the supply of these horses. In a verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it is stated that King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa in his campaigns emptied the stables of the Kāmbojas[7] belonging to the eastern part of Afghanistan, famous even in the epics for its breed of horses.[8] From this we infer that the horses may have been imported by Kashmir kings from this country.

We do not, however, get many details about the constitution and the numerical strength of the cavalry of the Kashmir kings. They were, however, placed under the charge of Cavalry Commanders *(hayasenāpati, aśvapati)*,[9] and there was a special

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.393-94.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.1360, 1568-69.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.528, 743, 1094.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.73.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.2093-94.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.188, 213; VIII.493.
[7] *Ibid.*, IV.165; according to R. S. Pandit there can be little doubt that these were the thorough-breeds of Central Asia and Afghanistan. (*Rājat.*, tr. R. S. Pandit, IV.165, note and Appendix H.).
[8] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, IV.165, note. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 30, vs. 32-33 :

Prayogyānāmuttamāḥ kāmbojaka saindhavāraṭṭavanāyujāḥ /
madhyamā vāhlīka pāpeyaka sauvīraka taitalāḥ //

Bāṇa also speaks of King Harṣa's favourite horses coming from Vanāyu, Āraṭṭa, Kāmboja, Sindh, and Persia. (*Harṣacarita*, tr. E. B. Cowell, ch. II, p. 50. A specific mention is made of Kashmir colts. (*Ibid.*, ch. IV, p.113).
[9] *Rājat.*, VII.766-69; VIII.339.

officer appointed for maintaining the supply of fodder for the horses *(aśvaghāsakāyastha)* and also a writer concerned with the stables *(aśvaśālādivira)*.[1] Kalhaṇa praises the skill of certain cavalry officers.[2] The importance which the cavalry received as a superior fighting force during the times of Lohara kings may well be the result of the failure of the Śāhis at the hands of Mahmūd of Ghaznī owing to their weakness in this respect.

Elephants, elsewhere in India, much prized as a fighting force, are frequently mentioned in the earlier books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa's forces are said to have had numberless elephants.[3] Incidentally Kalhaṇa here refers to the Kaliṅga country as their birthplace.[4] Presumably they were imported from that place. By the time we reach the Lohara dynasties we find few references to fighting elephants. In his war against his brothers Uccala and Sussala—the future rulers of Kashmir—Harṣa is described as fighting on his armour-clad elephant.[5] Attacked by this elephant, which had turned against its own side, the foot soldiers and horsemen of Harṣa's army were routed. The mention of a single elephant suggests that fighting from an elephant survived only as a kingly privilege.[6] The virtual disappearance of the fighting elephant in Kashmir may also be due to the lesson learnt after the defeat of the Śāhis of Kabul at the hands of Mahmūd of Ghaznī.

Besides the four classical divisions of the army, the military organisation in ancient India included other branches such as commissariat, transport and medical services.[7] They must naturally have formed an essential part of the army of the Kashmir kings. There must also have been a stores department attached with it. We find reference to the supply of fodder

[1] *Rājat.*, III.489.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.528.
[3] *Ibid.*, III.327.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV.147-48.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1553-55.
[6] *Manu.*, ch. VIII, vs. 399-400. Medhātithi on *Manu.* refers to elephants as one of the monopolies of the kings in the eastern countries. (*Yājña.*, II.261).
[7] G. T. Date, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

for the horses of King Sussala's army being sent for an expedition against Rājapurī.[1] From another verse it appears that arrangements were made for bringing the wounded back to the base camp, and Sussala took special care that casualties should have the arrow-heads removed from their wounds, which were then bandaged.[2] It is said that the sums which King Sussala spent on his troops by giving gratuities and medicines were beyond calculation.[3] We have a reference to the moving treasury *(calagañja)* with the forces of King Jayāpīḍa.[4] The soldiers are stated to have been paid marching allowance *(pravāsavetana)*.[5]

The ancient Indian army contained troops of various kinds. Kauṭilya in his chapter on the recruitment of the army recognizes as many as six classes of troops—hereditary standing army *(maula)*, hired troops *(bhṛtaka)*, corporations of soldiers *(śreṇī)*, troops belonging to an ally *(mitra)*, those who have deserted from the enemy *(amitra)*, and those of the wild tribes *(aṭavībala)*.[6] No specific account of the composition and the mode of the recruitment of army under the Lohara kings is available in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Scattered information on this point is, however, made available by Kalhaṇa while describing the various campaigns and wars conducted during the period under review. Moreover, we do not find any specific classification of troops similar to that of Kauṭilya.

The Rājaputras, chief councillors *(mahāmātyas)*, the feudal chiefs *(sāmantas)* and others constituted the forces of Tuṅga, the prime minister of King Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-28), when he

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1191; VIII.629.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.735-42.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.741-43.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV.589.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1156; VIII.757, 808, 1457, 2753.
[6] *Arthaśāstra.*, Bk. IX, ch. 11; *J. D. of Letters*, vol. XIV, 1927, p. 24, note. *Maula* probably means a standing army, the soldiers of which had served the state for a long time. The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to four kinds of troops, *maula, mitra, aṭavi, bhṛtya* which are acceptable and warns against *dviṣadbalam*. —*Rāmā., Yuddhakāṇḍa*, ch. 17, v. 24 :

Mitrāṭavibalaṁ caiva maulabhṛtyabalaṁ tathā /
sarvametad balaṁ grāhyaṁ varjayitvā dviṣadbalam //

marched to assist the Śāhis of Kabul who were attacked by Mahmūd of Ghaznī.[1] Earlier King Śaṁkaravarman's (A.D.883-902) army is said to have had many feudatory princes in its number.[2] Rājaputras are referred to as taking pay and carrying arms.[3] Next we find reference to Rājaputras, horsemen, soldiers, and Ḍāmaras in the service of King Ananta.[4] In another verse we find Tantrins also forming part of the eighteen divisions of the army.[5] In King Sussala's forces councillors, Ḍāmaras and feudatories abounded.[6] Taking all these references into account we find that councillors, Rājaputras, Tantrins, horsemen, feudal chiefs with their forces, Ḍāmaras and other soldiers together formed the eighteen divisions of the army of the Kashmir kings. Even Turuṣkas or Turkish Muslims formed a part of King Harṣa's army. Bhikṣācara had Turuṣkas from the Punjab as his allies against Sussala.[7] Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49) is also referred to as having *yavanas* in his army.[8] Kalhaṇa appears to be using the word for Mohammedans. B. K. Majumdar has stated that "the Kashmirian kings used to recruit soldiers from Rājaputanā *(sic)* and other parts of the country" (*Rājat.* VII. 1868: VIII. 2264, XV. 306) and that "like the Normans in Medieval Europe the Rājpūts lent the service of their sword in different localities and won great reputation."[9] References VII.1868; XV.306 are not to be found in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* while VIII. 1868 and VIII. 2264 refer to *saindhavas* and *yavanas*. As for the Rajput soldiers of the Kashmir army we have definite evidence in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that these Rājaputras belonged to Campā, Vallāpura, and the hill regions to the south of Kashmir. In his fight against Bhikṣācara, the rival claimant to the throne of Kashmir

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.48.

[2] *Ibid.*, V.145-47.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.325; VIII.266.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII.360.

[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1371, 1512-14. The eighteen divisions of the army referred to by Kalhaṇa (*Rājat.*, VII.1371) find mention in *Amarakośa*, ch. II; sec. 8, vs. 79,81.

[6] *Rājat.*, VIII.1072.

[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.885-87.

[8] *Ibid.*, VII.1149; VIII.2264.

[9] B. K. Majumdar, *The Military System in Ancient India*, p. 90, note.

from the first Lohara dynasty, Sussala was able to keep up his courage with the assistance of Rājaputras and it was to the bravery and devotion of these mercenaries that Sussala owed his victory over the rebels near Gopādri (modern Takht-i-Sulaiman hill) to the south-east of the city of Kashmir in A.D. 1122.[1] They remained a potent force in the armies of all the kings of the Lohara dynasties.

A very interesting class of soldiers very frequently mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is the Ekāṅgas.[2] From the references to their appointment and functions they appear to have formed an important part of the king's standing force. Literally the word *ekāṅga* means 'one limb' or 'part'—perhaps the hereditary *maula* army. Stein infers that they were foot-soldiers to whom police duties were assigned.[3] They are first mentioned in the reign of Queen Sugandhā, who is said to have ruled for two years with their support.[4] When Yaśaskara was seized by an abdominal disease, he had Varṇata, the son of his paternal great-uncle Rāmadeva, consecrated king by the ministers, Ekāṅgas and feudal chiefs.[5] The fear of a rising of the Ekāṅgas did not allow Parvagupta, the regent minister of Saṁgrāmadeva (A.D. 948-49), to destroy the latter, though just a child, but on attaining the throne for himself Parvagupta took revenge on them.[6] King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63) was installed on the throne by the Ekāṅgas even without the permission of his mother, Śrīlekhā.[7] Again, when his powerful commander-in-chief, Tribhuvana, became rebellious, collected the Ḍāmaras, and drew to himself the whole army, only the Ekāṅgas and the mounted soldiers did

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1051-1108, 1327-28, 1394, 2316, 3071; also cf. IV.426, 447; VIII.266, 323.

[2] *Ibid.*, V.249, 250, 259, 261, 288; VI.91, 120, 124, 132, 133; VII.94, 135, 155, 161, 162, 1604.

[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V.249, note. Kalhaṇa uses the term *aṅga* for resources of a State (*Rājat.*, VIII.50).

[4] *Ibid.*, 248, note. Stein considers them similar to the gendarmes of Continental Europe.

[5] *Rājat.*, VI.90-91.

[6] *Ibid.*, VI.121-24, 132-34.

[7] *Ibid.*, VII.135.

not leave the King's side.[1] Being pleased with their help and in order to show his gratitude, Ananta relieved the Ekāṅgas of their uncertain dependence on the accounts office *(akṣapaṭala)* for their salaries, and gave them instead a fixed assignment of ninety-six crores of dīnnāras.[2] Thus they appear to have been in the salaried service of the king. Moreover, from all these references we find them to have formed a very important element in state affairs. We do not find any further reference to them until the time of King Harṣa's last unfortunate days, when an equerry *(sūta)*, Trailokya by name, told the king of the services rendered by the Ekāṅgas to King Ananta and suggested to him that he should collect them in his hour of need at the *akṣapaṭala* office.[3] They are nowhere mentioned during the times of the kings of the second Lohara dynasty.

While the Tantrins are counted among the eighteen divisions of the army and are sent with the rest of the forces on military expeditions, we do not find Ekāṅgas performing any such duty.[4] They appear to have formed the king's body-guard—similar to the Jāndār soldiers of the Sultans of Delhi. We fail to find any very definite evidence that they performed police duties, as Stein believes, though of course as the personal body-guard of the king, they may well have been used for the apprehension of his political opponents from time to time. It is with the coming to the throne of Queen Sugandhā (A.D. 904-906) that we find mention of Tantrin foot-soldiers, who had formed a confederacy strong enough to puinsh or favour the rulers of Kashmir. Together with Ekāṅgas, ministers, and feudal chiefs, they formed the council which Sugandhā called in order to place on the throne Nirjitavarman, nicknamed Paṅgu or 'the lame', who was descended from Śūravarman, the half-brother of Avantivarman. But the Tantrins overruled the Queen's council and by open rebellion obtained the crown for Pārtha, the infant son of Nirjita-

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.155, 1604. These references show that the Ekāṅgas were normally foot-soldiers.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII.161-62.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1604.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1457; VIII.597.

varman (A.D.906).[1] In the year A.D.914, the Ekāṇga troops went forth united and brought back Sugandhā from Huṣkapura, but the Queen's force was defeated by the Tantrins, and she was made a prisoner and subsequently executed.[2] Again, in A.D. 921, Pārtha was formally deposed by the Tantrins in favour of his father Nirjitavarman, who, however, died two years later.[3] Cakravarman, the child-son of Nirjitavarman, who succeeded him, was kept on the throne under the guardianship of his mother and grandmother, until in the year A.D. 933-934, a fresh revolution of the Tantrins crowned his half-brother, Śūravarman I.[4] As the new king could not pay the large sums claimed by the troops he was deposed and Pārtha was once more raised to the throne, but the cupidity of the Tantrins made them restore Cakravarman in A.D. 935.[5] As he also failed in raising the promised sums, he had to flee in the same year, whereupon the Tantrins gave the throne to the minister Śambhuvardhana.[6] In the meanwhile Cakravarman turned for help to the Ḍāmara, Saṁgrāma, who with his troops enabled the king to defeat the Tantrins. Kalhaṇa tells us that five or six thousand Tantrins fell slain in a short time on the field of battle.[7] Though they did not cease to be a part of the king's forces, their power seems to have been considerably reduced during these troubles.[8] We find reference to them in the later days of King Harṣa, as forming a part of his army.[9] We do not find them giving any trouble to the kings of the first Lohara dynasty, and the strong kings of the second Lohara dynasty seem to have kept them in their proper place, for we find King Uccala turning all the Tantrins out of his service as a result of some slight displeasure.[10] But during the interregnum of Raḍḍa Śaṅkharāja and Salhaṇa (A.D.1111-12), they are

[1] *Rājat.*, V.250ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, V.259-62.
[3] *Ibid.*, V.287.
[4] *Ibid.*, V.290-92.
[5] *Ibid.*, V.295.
[6] *Ibid.*, V.302.
[7] *Ibid.*, V.328-35.
[8] *Ibid.*, V.431; VI.132.
[9] *Ibid.*, VII.1513.
[10] *Ibid.*, VII.292.

again mentioned as intriguing with King Sussala. They are part of Sussala's army when he gets the Kashmir throne.[1] Thus the Tantrins formed a very important part of the king's standing forces and, from the references to their being paid through bills of exchange,[2] we infer that they were regular paid soldiers. During the famine of A.D. 917-18, they amassed huge riches by selling stores of rice at high prices.[3] Thus we can conclude that the Ekāṅgas were a body organised in military fashion but employed chiefly as the king's body-guards.

The Tantrins were foot-soldiers. Stein has suggested that their name was originally a tribal one, which he has connected with the *tāntri* of modern Kashmir. He has further suggested that they owed their close organisation to ethnic affinities.[4] These views seem very reasonable. As we have noted above, during the reigns of weak rulers, the two bodies of troops played a great part in civil and military affairs, and in rivalry with each other took sides with the rival claimants to the throne.

The next constituent of the army was the forces collected in the time of emergency—the *bhṛtaka* of Kauṭilya's classification. Jayananda, who was the prime minister during the reign of King Kalaśa, wishing to collect foot-soldiers, raised loans from rich people even if they were disreputable.[5] These levies were paid during the period when they were in the active service of the king but it appears from the above reference that they were disbanded after the campaign. When the Ḍāmaras rose in favour of Bhikṣācara, Sussala, the rival claimant to the throne, began to raise a large number of foot-soldiers, showering so much money on them that even the artisans and the carters took up arms.[6]

The next important element of the forces of the Kashmir kings was the feudal levies supplied by the chiefs *(sāmantas)*.[7]

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.373-76, 510, 597.
[2] *Ibid.*, V.266, 275, 293.
[3] *Ibid.*, V.274.
[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V.248, note.
[5] *Rājat.*, VII.367-68.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.726-28.
[7] *Infra*, Chapter Four.

We do not find any reference to the payment of such forces. Their recruitment and liability to serve in the king's army must have been based on land tenure. Moreover, we find the Kashmir ministers possessing large forces of their own—a condition typical of feudal organisation. Thus Phalguṇa, even though ousted from the prime-ministership by King Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-72), is seen marching to Varāhakṣetra attended by a large armed force.[1] King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49) did not conciliate Sujji, his disaffected Commander-in-Chief, but considered the way in which he could be attacked, as he had a powerful army at his disposal.[2] During King Harṣa's time, 'the lord of the gate', Caṁpaka—Kalhaṇa's father—crossed the Madhumati river and invested the fort of Dugdhaghāṭa with his own troops, while the king dispatched all the feudatories from all sides to his assistance.[3]

The mention of artisans and carters as taking up arms as a result of excessive showering of money by King Jayasiṁha shows that ordinarily these classes, unlike the *śreṇi* of Kauṭilya's classification, did not form a part of king's force. This also shows that there was no system of conscription in medieval Kashmir.

We have no clear reference to the numerical strength of the army during the Lohara dynasties. Kalhaṇa tells us, however, in one passage that Sussala and Bhikṣācara had maintained their power with the aid of ten thousand picked troops, and that Jayasiṁha raised the same number of soldiers and sent them against the castle of Lohara, where they all perished.[4] Earlier, King Lalitāditya (eighth century) is said to have had one lakh and a quarter of litters in his army, while Jayāpīḍa had only eighty-thousand.[5] The latter is referred to as being followed in his march by the feudatory princes with their forces, and Kalhaṇa does not clearly state whether the figure refers to the total

[1] *Rājat.*, VI.132, 204.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.1980.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1179-80.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.1905-6.
[5] *Ibid.*, IV.407-14.

number of litters in the whole army, or only to that directly under the king's control. Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) had an army of 9,00,000 foot-soldiers, 300 elephants and 1,00,000 horsemen. His army on the march was also swelled from place to place by the troops of feudatory chiefs.[1] These latter figures seem definitely exaggerated, but the more modest figure of 10,000 mentioned as the number of troops maintained by Sussala and Bhikṣācara may give us some idea of the approximate strength of the standing army of the time, excluding temporary recruits and feudal levies. King Sussala (A.D. 1112-20), when he abandoned his throne and marched away, was followed by 5,000 or 6,000 soldiers.[2]

Kalhaṇa recognises the importance of military strategy, the posting of scouts, night watches and military exercises, and condemns Tuṅga for not having followed all these principles when he was sent to help the Śāhis of Kabul in their fight against Mahmūd of Ghaznī.[3] Despite the advice of the Śāhi leaders, Tuṅga did not care to acquaint himself with the Turuṣkas' methods of warfare. The result was that the Kashmir forces were utterly routed.[4] Kalhaṇa admits the superior strength of Mahmūd's forces and of those of the Śāhis of Kabul, who managed to hold out for some time against the Muslims. The Kashmir armies, which were mostly collected in the time of need or supplied by the feudatory princes, seem to have been fit enough for guarding against local troubles or for expeditions against Rājapurī, Vallāpura or the Daradas, but when they came face to face with the better organisation and the superior skill of the Mohammedan soldiers at Kabul, they were utterly defeated. Another defect in the Kashmir military organisation, as was also the case in Hindu India generally, was the total dependence of the forces on their leader,[5] whose defeat or death completely disheartened them and often resulted in rout. Kalhaṇa's casual mention of the battle arrays shows that some such arrangement

[1] *Rājat.*, V.137-40, 143-44.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.818.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.49-50.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.90.

was made by the Kashmirian commanders also.[1] It appears that due consideration was given to the seasons for starting the campaigns. King Jayasiṁha lost Lohara when Loṭhana, the brother of the ex-king Salhaṇa, who had been imprisoned in this castle, escaped from his fetters and captured it. Realizing the damage from the loss of the family stronghold, in A.D. 1130 Jayasiṁha sent a large army under Lakṣmaka to recapture it. This expedition is strongly criticized by Kalhaṇa because it was undertaken during the fierce heat of the early summer, since dangerous cold fevers prevailed in the Lohara valley from the commencement of the summer rains and during autumn.[2] Similarly Kalhaṇa condemns kings who march on any expedition during the winter snows, when most of the roads are impassable.[3] Phālguṇa (February-March) is specifically mentioned by him as a terrible month, owing to heavy snowfalls.[4]

Siege warfare was a regular feature of the fighting in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa records the siege of Pṛthvīgiri, a fortress in Rājapurī, and of the Dugdhaghāṭa Castle against the Daradas by the forces of King Harṣa.[5] King Sussala had to carry on regular sieges around the fortified castles of the great Ḍāmara, Gargacandra, of his time.[6] The Ḍāmara rebels are repeatedly mentioned to have besieged Srinagar.[7]

Espionage accompanied the armies.[8]

Forts were a capital means of defence from the very dawn of Indian history. The non-Aryan races, while resisting the inroads of their Vedic conquerors, took shelter in their fortified places.[9] In a later source an attempt is made to define the

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.2205.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.1836-39.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.1373.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.598.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1152, 1179-80; cf. also VIII.1681, 1841.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.502ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.723ff., 1155ff., 1474.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.3160. Cf. *MBh.*, *Śāntiparva*, ch. LXIX.
[9] *Pura* is a word of frequent occurrence in the *Ṛgveda* (I, 53,7; 58, 8; 131. 4; 166, 8; III, 15. 4; IV.27.1 etc.) and later literature (*TaiBr.* I. 7. 7. 5; *AitBr.*I. 23; II.11; *ŚatPa.*, III.4. 4. 3; VI. 3. 3. 25; XI.1.1.2-3; *ChUp.* VIII.

fortress : "That is called a fortress which removes calamities and inflicts them upon the enemy."[1] Śukra has also given a full section on fortresses and their importance.[2] Thus the castle of Lohara was the stronghold of the kings of Kashmir during the Lohara dynasties. It was to this that they retired in times of danger, and sent their treasury and families during troublous times. When Sussala succeeded in wresting Kashmir from his half-brother, Salhaṇa, he used this stronghold for the custody of his dangerous relatives and as the hoarding-place of his treasures.[3] When threatened by the rebel forces of the pretender Bhikṣācara in the summer of A.D. 1120 he sent his son and family to Lohara for safety, and followed them himself in the autumn of that year.[4] During the remainder of Sussala's reign we hear of Lohara only once more when Jayasiṁha was brought back to Kashmir after three years stay there and was received by his father at Varāhamūla.[5] Kalhaṇa tells us of the installation of Gulhaṇa, Jayasiṁha's eldest son, as ruler of Lohara during the lifetime of his father.[6] Alberūnī makes very interesting and important reference to the fortress of Lauhawar. In the absence of access to full texts of the last two books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Wilson took this Lauhawar to be Lahore, but Stein,[7] on the evidence of all the references given in the *Kitāb-ul-Hind*, has correctly identified it with the Lohara Castle. The strength and impregnability of this fort is testified by the Mohammedan historians who all agree in relating that Mahmūd's invasion was brought to a standstill at the siege of the fort of Lohkot which, Firishta tells us, "was remarkable on

5. 3. etc., meaning 'rampart', 'fort' or 'stronghold'. Vide *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 538.

[1] *Nītivākya., Durga-Samuddeśaḥ*, ch. 20, verse I, p. 199.

[2] *Śukra.*, ch. IV, sec. 6, passim. *Agnipurāṇa*, vol. II, ch. CCXXII, p. 794 mentions various kinds of forts, *giridurga* being the best.

[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 295; cf. *Rājat.*, VIII.519, 567, 639.

[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.717.

[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.1227ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.3301, 3372.

[7] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 298.

account of its height and strength."[1]

Guarding the route to the Darada country we hear of the castle of Dugdhaghāṭa, once held by a Ḍāmara, Lakkanacandra, who was executed by order of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63). After this event the stronghold fell into the power of the Darada king, from whom Harṣa subsequently vainly endeavoured to recover it with the assistance of the neighbouring Ḍāmaras.[2] Another very strong castle was Śiraḥśilā on the banks of the Kishanganga river where the rebel Ḍāmaras and pretenders took shelter.[3] On a smaller scale we find the kings to have built fortresses in every village each of which was put into the charge of a *koṭṭeśa*.[4]

Music was a regular feature of ancient Indian warfare. The sound of martial music thrilled and inspired the soldiers of the marching army, while it struck terror in the hearts of the opponents. Military music was regularly employed in Kashmir.[5] Kettle-drums *(dundubhis)* were beaten at the time of attack. Kalhaṇa refers to the sound of martial instruments in numerous passages.[6]

The weapons of war used by Kashmir forces were swords *(asi, khaḍga, khaṅga)*,[7] bows *(cāpa)* and arrows *(śara)*,[8] daggers *(kṣurikā)*,[9] darts *(śūla)*,[10] spears *(kunta)*[11] and battle-axes *(paraśu)*.[12] The worship of weapons *(astrapūjā)* is mentioned as one of the important royal functions.[13] When stationed on mountain tops the fighters hurled big stones on the opponents

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 299. Vide Elliot, *HI*, vol. II, pp. 455-56; Briggs J., *Firishta*, vol. I, p. 55.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.1171ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.2556, 2706ff. Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 341.

[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.2194.

[5] *Ibid.*, VI.246.

[6] *Ibid.*, IV.129; VI.246; VIII.947-53, 1080-81.

[7] *Ibid.*, III.388-90; VII.1300, 1322; VIII.346.

[8] *Ibid.*, V.218; VIII.25, 435.

[9] *Ibid.*, VII.1711.

[10] *Ibid.*, VII.1567.

[11] *Ibid.*, IV.306; VIII.1161.

[12] *Ibid.*, VIII.2316. Stein translates *paraśu* as hatchet.

[13] *Ibid.*, VII.246.

below.[1] The necessity of armour as a safeguard from weapons was recognised by the Kashmirians.[2] Kalhaṇa also mentions shields *(kheṭaka)*[3] and helmets[4] as well as armour for animals.[5] We also find that the Kashmirians made incendiary arrows besmeared with vegetable oil. The troops of Prince Vijayamalla, the younger half-brother of Harṣa, led by Madhuravaṭṭa, the Commander of the cavalry, burnt the houses with the firebrands fixed at the points of their darts.[6] Again we find clear reference to such methods used by Kandarpa, the Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmir forces under King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), whose troops while fighting against Rājapurī shot burning arrows smeared over with vegetable oil. The words *liptānauṣadhitailena nārācānnicikṣepa* are too clear to allow any other possible meaning.[7] Inflammable vegetation is abundantly found in the hills adjoining the Valley. Gustav Oppert, in support of his claim to the existence of firearms in India, quotes the following extract from *Mujmal-ut-Tawārīkh*, which was translated from a Sanskrit original : "The brāhmaṇas counselled Hal to have an elephant made of clay and to place it in the van of his army, and that when the army of the king of Kashmir drew nigh, the elephant exploded, and the flames destroyed a great portion of the invading force."[8] While criticising Oppert's claim Date writes that the testimony of *Mujmal-ut-Tawārīkh* could be acceptable if it could be supported by Kalhaṇa, but the chronicles of Kashmir give nothing to sustain the contention.[9] There is, however, one verse which suggests the existence of firearms. King Harṣa's forces attacked Rājapurī and threw

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1677.

[2] *Ibid.*, III.405-6; VI.248-49; VII.669, 1322, 1548; VIII.2207.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1483.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1544.

[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1553; VIII.728. *Note :* See Plate IV : Memorial Stone at Baramula (Varāhamūla). Description : Battle-axes, bows, arrows and quiver. In Hindu pantheon, these are arms of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Both the horse and the rider are clad with armour.

[6] *Ibid.*, VII.768-69.

[7] *Ibid.*, VII.983.

[8] Elliot, *HI*, vol. I, p. 107; vol. VI, p. 475.

[9] G. T. Date, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

burning arrows besmeared with vegetable oil, on which the Rājapurī forces, believing that he knew the use of fire-arms *(āgneyaastra)*, were frightened.[1] This gives the impression that here the *āgneyāstra* was something different from a mere burning arrow besmeared with oil, the use of which was common knowledge. The matter becomes clear when we remember that the term *āgneyāstra* occurs in the Epics.[2] Kalhaṇa, being adept in the Epic lore, knew, and probably believed in, the existence of the magic fire-weapons given by the gods to heroes of ancient days. Kalhaṇa's statement also indicates that belief in these magic weapons was widespread in Kashmir as well as the adjoining hill states.

Elliot, however, believes that fire-arms were known in India.[3] Egerton supports his view saying that "Rockets, or weapons of fire, 'agnyastra', were certainly known at a very early period. They were a kind of fire-tipped dart discharged horizontally from a bamboo, and were used against cavalry. The invention is ascribed by the 'Purāṇas' to Visvacarma, their vulcan, who for 100 years forged all the weapons for the wars between the good and bad spirits. The knowledge, however, of the manufacture of gunpowder or some material composed of sulphur and salt-petre, and the use of projectiles, probably died out before the historic times, and only an inflammable projectile or naphtha ball was used till the revival of fire-arms from the West."[4]

The whole of the history of Kashmir is full of instances of treason and disaffection of officers, whether in civil or military posts. Mutual jealousies of the ministers and the presence of the rival claimants to the throne of Kashmir led to such situation; and in times of war the forces often deserted one party to join the other. King Harṣa's servants were all characterised by timidity and treachery. His General *(daṇḍanāyaka)*, Sunna, accepted bribes from King Saṁgrāmapāla of Rājapurī,

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.983-84.

[2] *PW*, vol. I, p. 600.

[3] Elliot, *HI*, vol. VI, pp. 480-81. *Ibid.*, *Appendix*, Note, pp. 470-75.

[4] Egerton of Tatton, *Indian & Oriental Armour*, p. 10; cf. Elliot, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 471.

whom Harṣa had besieged and who, hard-pressed by the siege, was offering tribute and supplies. Sunna took his bribes and instigated the soldiers of his own army to demand more marching allowance *(pravāsavetana)*. As a result thereof the soldiers of King Harṣa's army began a solemn fast *(prāya)* and the whole army fell into disorder. When the king was still trying to bring order among the soldiers, Sunna spread a rumour of an attack from the Turuṣkas. Ultimately King Harṣa was compelled to raise the siege and march back in fright, leaving his whole treasure and stores on the road.[1] This officer is again referred to as having been the cause of Harṣa's misfortunes, weakening his army, bringing rival claimants into the city, and ultimately advising the king wrongly and thus causing his downfall.[2]

When Harṣa was in great trouble, and when Uccala was consecrated as king by the Brahmins of Hiraṇyapura, even the Tantrin troops who were sent to oppose the enemy claimed marching allowance in utter disregard of the king's critical situation.[3] All other servants of this king deserted him.[4] Sujji, one of King Jayasiṁha's ministers, from jealousy of the chamberlain Lakṣmaka, turned hostile to the king and intrigued with King Somapāla of Rājapurī. Jayasiṁha is seen approaching Sujji, fearing lest Mallārjuna, a rebel, might obtain his support.[5] In the same reign, which was Kalhaṇa's own period, the troops of Jayasiṁha are referred to as actually drawing allowances from his enemy Mallārjuna.[6]

Although righteous warfare *(dharmayuddha)* was regarded as the chief function of the Kṣatriya caste, and it is possible to find early Indian texts which glorify war for its own sake, most writers on Indian polity do not recommend war in

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1155-62, 1376; Stein (*Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.1155) translates *daṇḍanāyaka* as 'Prefect of Police', which does not appear to be correct. We take the word to mean "a General".

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.1597-99, 1609.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1457.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1458-59, 1542-46.

[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.1852-53, 1921-25, 1980.

[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.2283.

all cases. Only if all the three diplomatic expedients—conciliation *(sāma)*, bribery *(dāna)*, and sowing dissensions *(bheda)*—had failed should recourse be had to the fourth expedient, i.e. open war *(daṇḍa)*.[1] Thus we find King Harṣa bribing the chief *Ṭhakkura* of Rājapurī so as to induce King Saṁgramapāla of Rājapurī to desist from helping Uccala, who wished to seize the throne of Kashmir.[2] When the Ḍāmaras of Lohara, in sympathy with Bhikṣācara, marched to the siege of Srinagar, Sussala tried such devices as negotiation and sowing dissension.[3]

Manu declares that, whether the enemy is equal, superior or inferior, a Kṣatriya called to action must not turn back, for this is to violate the *dharma* of the Kṣatriya. Those kings who fight one another without turning their backs attain *vīrasvarga* or the heaven of heroes.[4] Deeply versed in the Epic lore, Kalhaṇa is full of ideas of heroism and chivalry. For the brave soldier it was a great humiliation to die on his couch,[5] while, on the other hand, dying on the battlefield is an honour absolving the hero of the debt of his master's favour; and such a soldier goes to heaven in the celestial cars of the nymphs.[6] Kṣemendra also glorifies the death of a hero on the battlefield.[7] Kalhaṇa expresses the same views through the ministers of King Harṣa, when they advise him at the time of his ultimate misfortune.[8]

While telling of the bravery of some of the soldiers, Kalhaṇa does not, however, shirk the facts about the treachery and cowardice of many of the Kashmirian troops.[9] There are instances where we find the soldiers hiding themselves on seeing the battlefields.[10] Earlier we are told that King Jayāpīḍa's forces, being tired of his constant wars, became disaffected and

[1] *Manu.*, ch. VII, vs. 90ff.; cf. *MBh. Śāntiparva*, ch. LXIX, v. 24.
[2] *Rājat.*, VII.1266-67.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.754.
[4] *Manu.*, ch. VII, vs. 87-89.
[5] *Rājat.*, VII.1364.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.1484, 1501, 1502; VIII.197, 1778.
[7] *Kalāvilāsa*, X.37.
[8] *Rājat.*, VII.1402-4.
[9] *Ibid.*, VIII.58, 1886, 2157.
[10] *Ibid.*, VII.987.

neglectful of their duties towards him and turned back from the royal army. Kalhaṇa records many more instances of this type.[1]

The plundering of towns and villages by the troops of the invading king was considered disreputable. Ānanda, the governor of Kramarājya (modern *Kamraz*), when captured by King Uccala's forces, thought of helping his lord, King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), by urging Uccala to proceed to Srinagar and plunder the neighbouring towns and villages, thinking that such acts would bring disrepute to him and turn the populace against him.[2] Thus it appears that generally the civilians were not subjected to the rigours of war, but were allowed to carry on their peaceful vocations if they did not interfere with the invaders.

In the last hours of Harṣa's life, when he was discovered in a mendicant's hut, he was attacked by soldiers. He succeeded in pulling down one of them, but would not kill him because he was fallen. Kalhaṇa calls this false pride[3] for, in the hour of adversity, he does not recommend any of the moral principles which are otherwise enjoined by the ethics of ancient Indian warfare.

Cutting off the fingers was considered a mark of humiliation and submission.[4] We find the repentant rebel Mallārjuna being carried in a litter towards the capital and holding an earthen vessel in which lay his amputated finger; he was pardoned by King Jayasiṁha and allowed to retire to a *maṭha*.[5] When pressed by Tilaka, the Commander-in-Chief of Sussala's forces, Gargacandra sent his wife and daughter before the king to conciliate him, and later concluded the peace, laying down the arms.[6] Other marks for showing humiliation and submission were binding the head-dress round the neck or carrying a shoe

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.411; VIII,1886.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII.1323-25.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1705.

[4] *Ibid.*, V.150; VIII,1594, 1738, 2272, 2308, 3300; *Sam.Māt.*, II.106; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.86, note.

[5] *Rājat.*, VIII.2308.

[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.605, 610.

on the head.[1]

Though fighting was considered the main duty of the Kṣatriyas in ancient India, the armies were not exclusively recruited from the Kṣatriyas but from all the sections of the community. Śukra asserts that a person possessing the requisite qualifications may be given the command of an army, be he a Śūdra, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Mleccha.[2] The same view is held by the author of the *Agnipurāṇa*.[3] We do not find any distinction on the basis of caste in Kashmir for there were Brahmin soldiers[4] and feudal chiefs in the army of the Lohara kings along with those belonging to other castes.

REVENUE

The ancient Indian political thinkers fully realized the importance of sound finances as an absolute necessity for a stable and prosperous state. *Koṣa* is included by them in the list of seven constituent limbs of the state.[5]

In Kashmir under the Loharas when King Ananta abdicated in favour of his son and proceeded to Vijayakṣetra, the local Brahmins are said by Kalhaṇa to have induced him to take his treasure *(koṣa)* along with him thereby advocating its dire necessity.[6] If the treasury was so important to the out-going king, how much more necessary would it be thought for the ruling one. We find King Kalaśa telling his son Harṣa : "I keep the treasures because I bear in mind that a king without means falls under the will of his own people as well as of his enemies."[7] It is thus quite clear that in Kashmir, as elsewhere in India,

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.2273.

[2] *Śukra.*, ch. II, lines 276-80.

[3] *Agnipurāṇa*, vol. II, ch. CCXLIX, pp. 894-95.

[4] *Rājat.*, V.424-25; VII.91, 1480; VIII.1013, 1071, 1345, 3018.

[5] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. VI, ch. 1; *Manu.*, ch. IX, v. 294; *Viṣṇu.*, ch. III, v. 33; *Kām.*, sec. XIII, vs. 33-34; sec. IV, v. 77; *Yājña.*, ch. I, vs. 327-28; *Nītivākya., Arthasamuddeśaḥ*, ch. 11, v. 1 *(Yataḥ sarvaprayojana siddhiḥ so'rthaḥ)*; *Śukra.*, ch. IV, sec. II, vs. 1ff.

[6] *Rājat.*, VII.342-44.

[7] *Ibid.*, VII.645.

large reserves of wealth were thought absolutely essential for the welfare and defence of the state.

To maintain a full treasury, absolutely necessary to a healthy state, some form of taxation existed from the earliest times in India. Several reasons have been set forth in ancient Indian texts in justification of taxation by the king. The early law-giver, Gautama, lays down that the taxes are to be paid in return for the protection given by the king.[1] According to Nārada the royal revenue is the reward of a king for the protection of his subjects.[2] The king has thus the right of taxation, but he should not impose it oppressively, otherwise he would destroy the tree which gives golden apples. Regarding this Kāmandaka advises the king to follow in general the principle of a florist or a milkman. Just as cows are at one time to be tended and nourished and at other times to be milked, so are the subjects to be helped at one time with provisions and money, and at other times to be taxed. A florist both tends and sprinkles water on his plants and culls flowers from them.[3] But in the case of rich royal officials, who have gained enormous wealth by some foul means, Kāmandaka advises the king differently. In such cases a monarch should bleed freely his subordinates swelling with unlawful wealth, like a surgeon bleeding a swelling abcess. Stripped of their unlawful gains, they stand by their sovereign like men standing by fire.[4]

The importance of regular revenue from taxation was recognised by the Kashmir kings. The internal administration, the struggle against the Ḍāmaras, and foreign expeditions, all needed money. How far these kings adhered to just principles of taxation is a point which requires analysis. King Jayāpīḍa's cupidity was excited by the greedy officers of finance, who exhorted him to give up his strenuous expeditions for conquest and riches, and to get the latter from his own subjects. Thus

[1] *Gaut.*, X.28; cf. *Manu.*, ch. VII, v. 128.
[2] *Nārada.*, XVIII.48.
[3] *Kām.*, sec. V, v. 84.
[4] *Ibid.*, sec. V, v. 85.

started his harsh fiscal oppression.[1] In fact, the officials (Kāyasthas) became rich by carrying away the wealth of the people and delivering only the smallest fraction to the king.[2] King Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), losing all his treasures through the distractions to which he abandoned himself, skilfully planned to appropriate the wealth of gods and others. He established two new revenue offices called *aṭṭapatibhāga* (the department of the 'lord of the market') and *gṛhakṛtya* (domestic affairs). He took from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandalwood, etc., resumed the villages which belonged to them, reduced the weights when giving the annual allowance of commodities to the temple corporations, introduced the system of forced carriage of loads, and fined the defaulters very heavily.[3] He also levied special contributions for the pay of the village clerks *(grāmakāyasthas)* and *skandakas*[4] as well as other land taxes. Kalhaṇa, through this king's son Gopālavarman, tells us that due to these excessive exactions at the instigation of the officials (Kāyasthas), breathing was the only activity which remained free for men.[5]

While a full treasury was an absolute necessity, extortion and avarice on the part of the king were much disapproved of in Hindu political thought. Kalhaṇa shows that he fully shares these views when he discusses Gopālavarman's reign.[6] King Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028) is himself stated to have admitted that his wealth had not been acquired by lawful means.[7] King

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.621-23.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV.629.

[3] *Ibid.*, V.165-74.

[4] As pointed out by Stein the meaning of the term *skandaka* is doubtful. He suggests that it may perhaps mean the 'village headman', the modern Muqaddam or Lambardar, who, as the person directly responsible for the payment of the revenue, has since old days been an important factor in rural administration. The proper spelling he suggests as *skandhaka*. The term occurs in the *Samayamātṛkā* as : *skandaka dānakale*. Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V.175, note; *Sam. Māt.* VI.15; Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 447.

[5] *Rājat.*, V.184.

[6] *Ibid.*, V.175-91, V.228-32.

[7] *Ibid.*, VII.110. 122.

Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89) recovered the riches accumulated by the Ḍāmara, Jayyaka, after the latter's death which, Kalhaṇa tells us, though with apparent exaggeration, sufficed to relieve the king for his whole life from money troubles.[1] Also in many other ways riches of various kinds plentifully reached this king. Kalhaṇa much praises the skill of King Kalaśa in keeping an account of his wealth like a merchant who was careful to spend it in the right way and yet had ever an open hand. The king himself watched over the present and future income and expenditure and kept always by his side birch-bark *(bhūrja)* and chalk like a clerk.[2] Thus it is evident that Kalhaṇa admires the king who looks into finances himself and whose motive in doing so is the protection of the people and the promotion of prosperity. A king is good if he looks after his wealth carefully and does not waste public funds over his own enjoyments. If he guards his treasures carefully, spends them properly, and has an open hand for gifts and endowments, it stands to his credit.

In one place, however, Kalhaṇa ridicules kings who look too closely into their financial affairs like clerks.[3] He despises Utkarṣa for daily inspecting the hoards of the treasury to weigh them. This king, we are told, was avaricious and did either what cost nothing, or pondered over the cost. Kalhaṇa wants his kings to be of generous mind and open hand, not miserly like the priests *(śrotriya)*.[4]

The greatest culprit among the extortionate kings of Kashmir was Harṣa, who took away the wealth of the temples. So great was his spoliation of temples that he appointed Udayarāja as the prefect for the overthrow of divine images *(devotpāṭanānāyaka)*.[5] He took away the wealth of the Bhīmakeśava temple and planned to loot the riches of the other wealthy temples so that the local *purohita* corporations induced him by a solemn fast *(prāya)* to grant them in compensation exemption

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.494ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.506-9.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV.349-52.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.756-59.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1091.

from the forced carriage of loads *(rūḍhabhāroḍhi)*.[1] Not satisfied with the treasures of his father and grandfather and all the wealth secured through the confiscation of temple riches, he endeavoured to secure more wealth by oppressing the householders. New officers were appointed for such exactions and the new imposts were named after them.[2] The king went to such an extent as to appoint a prefect *(nāyaka)* for night soil used as manure.[3] Persons who secured ample revenue were exalted to high positions. Sahelaka thus became the *mahattama*.[4]

King Sussala's minister Gauraka deprived royal servants of their living by dismissing them from various state offices and thus filled the king's treasury. Kalhaṇa much disdains this and tells us that the sordid gains put into the treasury, which was formerly quite pure, destroyed the previous wealth in the same way as the new snow destroys the old snow. The king daily accumulated fresh treasures and sent all his riches to the Lohara Castle.[5] During the reign of King Jayasiṁha, Citraratha accumulated wealth by oppressing the subjects.[6]

King Uccala, the successor of Harṣa, on the other hand, is said to have loved his subjects and showed indifference to greed.[7]

Kings must have drawn considerable income from *kheri*, or the crown lands. An official charge named *kherikārya* is frequently mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The royal official placed in charge of these crown lands must have held a very important status as is evident from various references to this office along with high ministerial charges in the state.[8]

The *bhāga* may be taken to be a king's customary share of the produce levied on the ordinary revenue-paying lands.

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1085-90.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.1100-1101.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1107.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1102-6.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.563-67, 1949, 1951-61.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.2043.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.48, 64, 80-85.
[8] See *infra*, Chapter Four.

Payment of the land revenue in kind may be traced among the Hindu states of Northern India down to the recent times.[1] In its technical sense as the designation of a specific tax on land (as distinguished from the more general sense in which it is identified with *bali* and *kara*) it occurs in two *Arthaśāstra* passages. At one place the *Arthaśāstra* mentions *bhāga* with *bali* and *kara*, etc., under the heading of *rāṣṭra*,[2] while in another reference it includes *ṣaḍbhāga* with *bali*, *kara*, etc., under the same general heading.[3] From these two references Ghoshal concludes that *bhāga* undoubtedly means the king's customary share of the produce, normally, though not universally, amounting to one-sixth.

The Smṛtis do not lay down any uniform rate of taxation. The percentage that they recommend varies from eight to thirty-three. Manu had perhaps different types of land in view while recommending a sixth, eighth or twelfth part of the produce as revenue. Ordinarily, however, the Hindu theorists recommended one-sixth as the king's share of the produce.[4]

During the reign of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63) one Kṣema, a barber, filled the king's treasury securing revenue by the impost of one-twelfth *(dvādaśabhāga)* and other means.[5] We cannot say with precision whether Kalhaṇa meant by this expression the actual revenue charged by the Kashmir kings or whether it was an additional impost introduced by Kṣema, over and above the one-sixth traditional share allowed to the king. We have already seen that the *pādāgra* office was concerned with revenue and it was Kṣema who first organised it.[6]

[1] U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 34. Kṣīrasvāmin commenting on *Amara.*, while quoting *Arthaśāstra* text, defines *bhāga* as one-sixth and like payable to the king (II.8, 28). S. D. Singh takes *bhāga* as a regular word for compulsory tax. He further states that the term *bali* was also used to denote compulsory taxes even in later times. (*Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India*, ed. D. C. Sircar, "Land System" by S. D. Singh, p. 30, note 3).

[2] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, Bk. II, ch. 15.

[4] *Manu.*, ch. VII, v. 130; *Gaut.*, X.24-27; *Arthaśāstra.*, Bk. V, ch. 2; *Viṣṇu.*, ch. III. vs. 22-23.

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.130, 203, 210.

[6] *Supra*, chapter two.

Anand Kaul, on the authority of Mullah Ahmad's translation of the *Ratnākarapurāṇa*, tells us that a very early king, Vaiṇāditya, built near modern Gagribal two vaults. In one of these the revenue of Kamrāz (ancient Kramarājya) division was to be deposited and in another that of Marāz (ancient Maḍavarājya) to the value of one-tenth of the produce. Even the king paid one-tenth.[1] Lawrence, in his *Valley of Kashmir*, tells us that in early Hindu period the state was contented with one-sixth of the produce of the soil.[2] He does not, however, give his authority for this statement, which is probably based only on the general tradition of Hindu India. It would seem that in fact the land tax was of varying proportion. Though the state may have usually charged one-sixth, the traditional revenue allowed by the Smṛtis, it evidently varied considerably during the reigns of certain kings. There does not seem to have been a permanent settlement of the land revenue, and there are instances of kings having charged various rates and various new imposts at their own will.

From a verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we know that, as in the rest of India, the land-tax in Kashmir was usually paid in kind. King Uccala sold grain from his own stores at cheaper prices to the people and thus stopped a famine.[3] The land revenue was

[1] Anand Kaul, *JRASB*, vol. IX, p. 200. The name of Vaiṇāditya does not occur in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Pt. Anand Kaul has quoted Hasan, a historian of Kashmir, who wrote in Persian. Hasan has stated that Zain-ul-Ābidīn, who reigned in Kashmir from A.D. 1423-1474, got a translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* done in Persian by Mullah Ahmad who was the poet-laureate of his court. For this purpose Zain-ul-Ābidīn made a search for Purāṇas and Taraṅgiṇīs of ancient writers. The names of more than fifteen different *Rājataraṅgiṇīs* were then known. Sikandar had destroyed all works. With great efforts, only the *Rājataraṅgiṇīs* of Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra, Wachhulākar and Padmamihira were obtained. Kṣemendra's being replete with inaccuracies, its translation was completed from other texts. A few years later birch-bark leaves of old *Rājataraṅgiṇī* written by Pt. Ratnākara, called *Ratnākarapurāṇa*, was obtained and the account of thirty-five lost kings and other facts was recorded in Mullah Ahmad's translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[2] Lawrence, *Valley*, pp. 402-3.

[3] *Rājat.*, VIII.61-65.

till quite recently paid in kind in Kashmir[1] and our passage clearly shows that this was the case in Hindu times also as this system afforded the means of meeting the famines arising from occasional bad harvests. Anand Kaul tells us that King Vaiṇāditya (A.D. 474-521) issued an edict that the villagers should themselves come at the end of the year and should deliver the tenth part of their produce into their respective vaults and hence the number of the revenue collecting staff was reduced.[2] Sometimes even salaries were disbursed in kind.

Ghoshal while discussing the term *kara* as a source of revenue takes it as a general property tax levied periodically.[3] The other interpretations offered by modern writers, viz., 'taxes paid in money', 'taxes or subsidies paid by vassal kings and others', 'taxes levied upon fruit-trees'—he takes as lacking authentication.[4]

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the term *kara* occurs in the sense of tribute and taxes or subsidies paid by vassal kings. King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89) bestowed upon Jindurāja, the chief command of the army, and forced Rājapurī and other regions to pay tribute *(kara)*.[5] During Harṣa's reign Kandarpa, the 'lord of the gate', took tribute *(kara)* from the king of Rājapurī.[6] Thus the term *kara* here falls in with Shamashastry's interpretation as 'tax or subsidies paid by vassal kings and others.' After defeating Mallārjuna who was installed as king at Lohara, Jayasiṁha made him pay the tribute *(kara)*.[7]

Another important fiscal term is *śulka* (toll or customs). This is mentioned in the *Amarakośa*[8] and in several epigraphic

[1] Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 403.

[2] Anand Kaul, *JRASB*, vol. IX, p. 200.

[3] U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 36.

[4] The first two interpretations are offered by Shamashastry and the third by *Gaut.* The *Arthaśāstra*, moreover, knows of the use of *kara* in the sense of a tax in general (Book II, ch. 6).

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.265-67.

[6] *Ibid.*, VII.991.

[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.1970.

[8] *Amara.*, ch. II.8, 27 :

dvipādyo dviguṇo daṇḍo bhāgadheyaḥ karo baliḥ /
ghaṭṭādideyaṁ śulko'strī prābhṛtaṁ tu pradeśanam //

sources. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and in the *Samayamātṛkā* of Kṣemendra we find the mention of this source of revenue. That this formed a lucrative source of income for the treasury is evident from the fact that Sussala, when he attacked Srinagar during the reign of King Harṣa, "defeated the Commandant Māṇikya of the Watch Station (*draṅga* where tolls were collected) of Śūrapura and obtained ample means which enabled him to display wonderful affluence during the whole of his enterprise."[1] During the reign of King Jayasiṁha, Mallakoṣṭha, the Ḍāmara chief of Lahara, became so powerful that he imprisoned the officials, collected the customs at the Watch Station *(draṅga)* and had his own name stamped in red lead on the wares as if he were the king.[2] This passage is of interest because it shows that the articles on which customs had been paid were marked in red lead with the king's seal. In Kṣemendra's *Samayamātṛkā* we find the heroine Kaṅkālī crossing the custom posts *(śulkasthāna)* and avoiding the custom duties by rendering the custom officer *(śaulkika)* unconscious by means of some wild narcotic flowers or herbs.[3] As regards the charges on ferries, we do not have any specific reference to show whether they were paid to the state or were charged by the private owners of boats. During the reign of King Uccala, we find reference to the fictitious account of a fraudulent merchant who wished to appropriate to himself a large sum deposited with him by another man. In the course of this statement is mentioned an item relating to the payment of six hundred *(dīnnāras)* taken away by the depositor for tolls in crossing the ferry.[4]

King Jayasiṁha placed the wood-supplies *(dāruṇāmākarāḥ)*, the revenue from which benefitted the royal treasury, at the free disposal of the citizens, and thereby got the whole city built anew. Thus the income from the forest wealth must have formed at that time, as it does even at present, a considerable revenue for the state treasury.[5] Though it is not stated anywhere

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1352-53.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.2010; cf. *Arthasāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 21.
[3] *Sam. Māt.*, II.102.
[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.136.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.2390.

in our sources, the right to catching fish must have been controlled by the government, who must have charged some revenue from those to whom it was leased.[1]

Fines on those sentenced in the courts normally formed another source of the royal income in Hindu India. We have few specific references to these in Kashmir, but we are told that King Jayasiṁha did not take money from minor criminals whom he punished, for fear of being defiled by its touch, but made them exculpate themselves by performing some pious work.[2] The property and wealth of persons dying without heirs seems to have escheated to the state, as in other parts of India. Thus King Kalaśa recovered the riches accumulated by the Ḍāmara, Jayyaka, after the latter's death.[3] State ownership of mines is suggested by the story of the copper mine found by King Jayāpīḍa in Kramarājya.[4] Medhātithi tells us that saffron, silk and wool were state monoply. They must, therefore, have been a lucrative source of income to the state.[5]

Kalhaṇa also refers to taxes on auspicious occasions *(māṅgalyadaṇḍa)*.[6] Forced labour (*rūḍhabhāroḍhi* known as *viṣṭi* in the rest of India)[7] formed an important indirect source of revenue to the state. King Śaṁkaravarman for the first time introduced this system of forced labour which Kalhaṇa aptly calls the harbinger of misery to the villagers. An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the method of its exaction by the statement that the tyrant fined the villagers failing to carry loads for one year at the value of the load, calculated according to the highest prices in the regions concerned; and that he fined in the same way all the villagers without any fault of theirs.

[1] Cf. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 157. The average amount realized by the state for the years 1893-95 was Rs. 2,000. Government controlled fisheries at Accabal rear the best variety of trout in the Valley.

[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.65; cf. VIII.3336.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.499; cf. *Nārada.*, III.16-18.

[4] *Rājat.*, V.617.

[5] Medhātithi on *Manu.*, ch. VIII, v. 399. Cf. *Yājña.*, II.261.

[6] *Rājat.*, VIII.1428.

[7] *Arthaśāstra.*, Bk. II, ch. 35.

Kalhaṇa states forced labour to be of thirteen kinds.[1] Reference to this burden is found later on, when in the reign of Harṣa a certain temple was plundered and the members of the *purohita* corporation requested him to exempt them from forced labour *(rūḍhabhāroḍhi)*.[2] Making the Brahmins carry loads seems straṇge, though we may be led to believe it in view of the fact that King Harṣa plundered the temples and defiled the images. The forced carriage of load and its thirteen kinds as introduced by Śaṁkaravarman would suggest that it was not always necessarily the actual carriage of loads, but may be commuted by some payment in cash or kind. Harṣa might have imposed it even on Brahmins who, it is said, on the plunder of their temples, requested the king to exempt them from this burden. The system continued with its oppression during the reign of King Jayasiṁha also.[3] It must have continued during the Afghan and the Mughal rule in all its rigours, for as late as the nineteenth century, Lawrence recorded his opinion that nothing had done more to ruin Kashmir than the corrupt and cruel manipulation of the corvée.[4]

The state revenue may not have sufficed to allow the kings to undertake expeditions and wage wars. We find that one of King Kalaśa's officers named Jayānanda, wishing to collect foot-soldiers, raised eagerly loans from rich people even if they were disreputable.[5] This reminds one of the billeting of soldiers upon private houses and imposition of forced loans and benevolences during the rule of Tudors and Stuarts in England.

[1] *Rājat.*, V.172-74; cf. *Arthaśāstra.*, Bk. II, ch. 7, 15; Bk. X, ch. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII.1088.

[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.2513. The grants of the Gupta period from Central India show that the peasants had to render labour service *(viṣṭi)* to their king. Some other Central Indian grants made by the feudatories of the Guptas state that villages granted to religious donees were made free from the imposition of labour. See Sharma, R. S., *Indian Feudalism*, p. 48.

[4] Lawrence, *Valley*, pp. 411-12.

[5] *Rājat.*, VII. 367; cf. *MBh.*, *Śāntiparvan*, ch. CXXX, vs. 23-24. Since the Kṣatriya is the destroyer as well as the preserver of the people, he should take away wealth from them when he is engaged in the task of protection.

Śukranīti, however, definitely states that, when the king is engaged in maintaining troops for destroying his enemy, he may increase the rate of fines and tolls and may seize the wealth of rich people after giving them an allowance for subsistence, but he must return the same with interest after he has overcome his danger.[1]

JUSTICE

The administration of justice and punishment of the guilty were considered as among the most important duties of the king in ancient India. The word *vyavahāra* is used in several senses in the Sūtras and Smṛtis. One of its meanings is 'transaction' or 'dealing'. It also means 'a dispute' or 'a law-suit'. Kauṭilya uses this word in the sense of an agreement as also a dispute. A third sense is the 'legal capacity to enter into a transaction.' A fourth, but a rare sense, is 'the means of deciding a matter.'[2] The authors of the *Cultural Heritage of India* (Vol. II) while referring to the *Nītivākyāmṛta* of Somadeva Sūri written in A.D. 959 render the word *vyavahāra* as 'good behaviour.'[3]

In legal literature the word *vyavahāra* has generally the meaning of 'law-suit', 'dispute in a court' or 'legal proceeding'. The word *vivāda* which means 'dispute' is often used as a synonym for *vyavahāra* in the sense of law-suit or legal proceeding or both.[4] But lawyers tend to confine *vivāda* to the substantive legal issue being litigated, reserving *vyavahāra* for procedural issues.[5]

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the term *vyavahāra* is used in the sense of legal administration and also, in particular, contractual

[1] *Śukra.*, ch. IV, sec. 2, vs. 18ff.

[2] P. V. Kane, *Hist. of Dh. Sh.*, vol. III, pp. 245-46. Cf. *Mbh.*, *Udyogaparva*, ch. XXXVII, v. 30; *Śantiparva*, ch. LXIX, v. 28; *Śukra.*, ch. IV, sec. 5, lines 7-8; *Manu.*, ch. VIII, v. 1; *Vasiṣ.*, ch. XVI, v. 3; *Arthaśāstra.*, Bk. III, chs. 1, 11; *Gaut.*, X.48 : *rakṣed rājā balānām dhanānyprāptavyavahārāṇāṁ*; XI.19: *tasya vyavahāro vedo dharamśastrāṇyaṅgāni.*

[3] *CHI*, vol. II, p. 463.

[4] P. V. Kane, *Hist. of Dh. Sh.*, vol. III, p. 246; see also *Nārada.*, *Intro. vivāda*, meaning 'law-suit', I. 5.

[5] *V. Cintāmaṇi.*, 4.1.2; *Nīlamata.*, v.833; *SrīKaṇṭha*, ch. III for *Vyavahāra-karma.*

rights, and the word *vivāda* repeatedly occurs in the sense of a law-suit.[1]

The term *vyavahārapāda* means theoretically 'topic or subject-matter of litigation or dispute.' In ancient Indian jurisprudence eighteen *vyavahārapādas* are mentioned which classify most of the possible disputes or law-suits generally under eighteen convenient headings.[2] The Kashmir kings, no doubt, followed the ancient Indian Smṛti tradition, but we do not find any reference to the term *vyavahārapāda* either in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* or in Kṣemendra's *Lokaprakāśa*, or in any other source. There is a verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* stating that King Jalauka, by establishing eighteen offices *(karmasthānas)* in accordance with traditional usage, created a condition of things as it was under Yudhiṣṭhira.[3] Having the general agreement between *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and *Manusmṛti* in view Troyer has taken this mention of eighteen *karmasthānas* as implying eighteen *vyavahārapādas* or the eighteen subjects of dispute or litigation.[4] There is, no doubt, a general agreement between the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the *Manusmṛti*, but as rightly pointed out by Jolly[5] these eighteen offices *(karmasthānas)* evidently correspond to the eighteen *tīrthas* or state offices mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, and not the eighteen *vyavahārapādas* as erroneously stated by Troyer.

In Hindu India the king's court of justice was variously called *dharmasthāna*, *dharmāsana* or *dharmādhikaraṇa*. The place where the decision of the truth of the plaint is reached by the consideration of the rules of the sacred laws is called *dharmādhikaraṇa* (the hall of justice). Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti employ the word *dharmāsana*.[6] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Kalhaṇa uses the words *sabhā* and *dharmāsana* for the king's court of justice.[7] From the words *dharmādhikaraṇadivira*, *āsthānadivira*,

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII. 123, 129-30, 158.

[2] *Manu.*, ch. VIII, vs. 3-7; *Nārada.*. I. 9, 16-19.

[3] *Rājat.*, I.120.

[4] Troyer, *Rājat.*, tr. vol. II, pp. 484-504.

[5] Jolly, J. *Weber Festgabe*, p. 84

[6] P. V. Kane, *Hist. of Dh. Sh.*, vol. III, p. 243. Also *Nārada.*, I.34; *Manu.*, ch. VIII, v. 23; *Śukra.*, ch. IV, sec. 5, v. 46.

[7] *Rājat.*, VI. 28, 40, 60.

and *adhikaraṇadvijas*, *āsthānabhaṭṭa* used by Kṣemendra, we assume that the courts of justice were also known as *dharmādhikaraṇa*, *adhikaraṇa* and *āsthāna*.[1]

Reference to the king's court of justice shows that in ancient India justice was primarily dispensed by the king. He was an original court as well as an appellate tribunal. Smṛtis and digests generally assume that the king cannot always dispense justice by himself alone, but must do so with the help and guidance of others—that is, he should be assisted by learned Brahmins and ministers proficient in state-craft.[2] Kātyāyana adds that a king who examines disputes in the presence of the judge, the ministers, the learned Brahmins, the *purohita* and the *sabhyas* (courtiers) attains heaven.[3] The kings of Kashmir acted in keeping with these injunctions of the Smṛti texts. They dispensed justice openly in the courts in the presence of the judges *(stheyas)* and courtiers *(sabhyas)*. Kalhaṇa, while writing about the reflections of Mātṛgupta on King Vikramāditya's court, says : "In the court of this king there is no confidant, (or more appropriately a sage) *(āpta)*[4] whose merits are falsely renowned, no minister who loves quarrels, no judge who would decide cases wrongly or untruthfully."[5]

[1] *N.Mālā.*, ch. II, vs. 117, 121, 128, 129, 137, 144.

[2] P. V. Kane, *Hist. of Dh. Sh.*, vol. III, p. 268; *Manu.*, ch. VIII, v. 128; *Narada.*, I.35; *Nīlamata*, vs. 833ff.

[3] *Kātyāyana.*, 55-56, quoted in *Vyavahāra Mātṛkā.*, p. 278; *Yājña.*, II.2, quoted by P. V. Kane, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Śukra.*, tr., Sarkar, p. 55, note.

Āpta is a technical term in Hindu philosophy denoting the persons who by their spiritual strength as well as gifts of intellect have attained a position in which they can directly visualise the highest truths of the universe, who are in fact *ṛṣis*, capable of 'seeing' even in spite of spatial or temporal obstructions. Their knowledge may thus be regarded as 'revealed'; it does not come through observation or inference as that of ordinary men. *Āptavākya* means the words of those who may be trusted as infallible authorities because of their character and attainments.

[5] *Rājat.*, III.139 : *Mithyākhyātaguṇo nāpto nāmātyaḥ kalahapriyaḥ / asatyasandhaḥ stheyo vā nāsthānesya mahīpateḥ //* Stein wrongly translates this as : "In the council of this king there is no confidant of false merits, no minister who loves quarrels, breaks his promise or robs." The term

We have several cases in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* where the king personally heard the appeals of the plaintiffs. King Uccala was able to remove the doubt in a law-suit between a merchant and a litigant which had eluded the comprehension of the judges. The case ran as follows :[1]

A certain man deposited money (a lakh of *dīnnāras*) in the house of a merchant who acted as his banker. From time to time he took from the latter sums of money to use for his expenditure. When twenty or thirty years had passed he asked the merchant for the amount that remained after deducting what he had drawn from time to time. The wicked merchant, who was intent upon embezzling the deposit *(nyāsa)*,[2] deceitfully delayed it under various pretexts.[3] When all his pretexts were exhausted he showed a long list of articles noted in the account book which had been bought by the litigant on credit, and had thus turned his account from credit *(śreyas)* into debit *(aśreyas)*. The depositor sued the merchant in the court, but could not get the better of him, nor could the judge help him out of his difficulty. Ultimately the matter went before the king who decided in favour of the plaintiff, basing his decision on the evidence of the existence of the coins of his own time in the deposit while it had been handed to the merchant during King Kalaśa's time, from which it followed that the merchant had been using the deposited amount for his personal needs. Therefore, if the plaintiff had to pay the merchant interest on what he had taken from the latter, the merchant also was bound to pay interest on the deposited lakh as if he had taken it on loan. In view of the evidence the king's decision was exactly in keeping with the Smṛtis.

Referring to this deposit Stein writes : "The law-books

stheya is often used by Kalhaṇa for a 'judge'. R. S. Pandit translates the word as member of council. In *Rājat.*, V.203 and VII.681, 1389, *āpta* is again used in the same sense.

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.123-58. Cf. *Yājña.*, II.67; *Nārada.*, ch. II, v. 8.

[2] A verse quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin on *Amara.* defines *nyāsa* as an open deposit.

[3] Cf. *Manu.*, ch. VIII, v. 181

clearly indicate two different kinds of deposits, open or closed (e.g. *Manusmṛti*, VIII.185). The case shows that the deposit was a closed one and that the merchant who acted as a banker was not supposed to use the money for his personal transactions. The king's decision was based on the evidence furnished by the new coins, which showed that the merchant treated the deposit as an open one. Having used the amount deposited for trade purposes, the merchant was bound to pay interest for it just as if he had taken the money on loan. In the same way the depositor was obliged to pay interest on the advances he had drawn from the merchant."[1]

The term used by Kalhaṇa for deposit is *nyāsa* which, according to the Smṛtis, means an open deposit.[2] According to one authority *nyāsa* is the Sanskrit equivalent for bailment. Bailment is a technical term of the common law of England and means, in the words of Justice Storey, the delivery of a thing in trust for some special object or purpose and upon a contract expressed or implied to conform to the object or purpose of the trust.[3]

It is specifically stated by Nārada that in whatever manner a man may have delivered any of his effects to another, in the same manner shall that article be restored to him. Delivery and receipt ought to be equal.[4] Manu corroborates this when he says : "In whatever manner a person shall deposit anything in the hands of another, in the same manner ought the same thing to be received back (by the owner); as the delivery (was, so must be) the redelivery.[5] Yājñavalkya prescribes : "The article deposited must be returned in the same condition in which it was

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII.123, note.

[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.126; *Nārada.*, ch.II, vs. 2-3; *Bṛhas.*, ch.XII, vs. 2-3. In the *Samayamātṛka* of Kṣemendra (VIII. 65, 87) the word *nikṣepa* is used for 'deposit'. In the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* of Dāmodaragupta, *nyāsa* appears as implying a sacred trust. (*Kuṭṭ.*, V.455). For various terms for deposit loosely used in some texts, see P. V. Kane, *Hist. of Dh. Sh.*, vol. III, pp. 454-55; *The Economic Life of Northern India* by Lallanji Gopal, p. 177.

[3] Mati Lal Das, *The Hindu Law of Bailment*, p. 69.

[4] *Nārada.*, II.3.

[5] *Manu.*, ch. VIII, v. 180.

handed over."[1] Thus the Smṛti law holds that all types of deposits, whether sealed or open, should be returned on demand in the same condition as deposited. The bailment is gratuitous and it does not give the bailee any right to make use of the article bailed.[2] It is also stated that if the bailee derives profit from a deposit, by using it without the consent of the depositor, he shall be punished likewise, and shall restore the profit, together with interest, to the depositor.[3] Manu says: "He who does not restore his deposit to the depositor at request may be tried by the judge."[4]

The verse quoted by Stein (*Manu.*, VIII.185) mentions two types of deposits, but it does not lay down any rules regarding the return of the deposits in general. It only tells that the open or sealed deposit should not be returned to a near relative *(pratyanantare)*.

The original basis for the king's decision, as it appears from the merit of the case, was not that the sealed deposit had been treated as an open one by the merchant but that the merchant who acted as the banker was not authorized to use it without the permission of the depositor. The merchant with whom the money was deposited was guilty of having used it without consent, of having delayed the return of the deposit which, according to law, he should have done on demand, and lastly, of showing falsely that purchases had been made from time to time on credit by the depositor and his family. The deposit is stated to have contained 1,00,000 *dīnnāras* from which the depositor took some money from time to time. This suggests that the amount was known to the bailee. The king appears to have decided the case according to the letter of the law as in the Smṛti literature quoted above. In this case the merchant does not appear to have been a regular banker like those of modern times, otherwise there would not have been any insis-

[1] *Yājña.*, II.65.

[2] Mati Lal Das, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. *Viṣṇu.*, ch. V, vs. 169-70.

[3] *Nārada.*, II.8.

[4] *Manu.*, ch. VIII, vs. 181-88, 191; cf. *Nārada.*, II.13; *Bṛhas.*, ch. XII, v. 9; Jolly J., *Recht und Sitte*, pp. 102ff.

tence on the return of the identical coins deposited. The last important point to consider in this case was that if the question had been only of sealed and open deposit, the case would have been simple enough and should not have eluded the comprehension of the judges. Moreover, there is no allusion to seals having been examined by the judges. The contents and quality of the deposit were openly known.[1]

King Uccala's personal view about justice was that "in a law-suit a merciful order is appropriate in the case of a person who has been under a mistaken notion. But severity ought to be used against him who had employed fraud."[2]

King Harşa is said to have installed great bells in all the four directions of the palace gate *(simhadvāra)*, to be informed by their sound of those who had come with the desire of making representations; and, when once he had heard of their plaints, "he fulfilled their desires (as quickly) as the cloud in the rainy season (fulfils) that of the *cātaka* birds."[3] Thus, though we do not meet with any accounts of specific legal cases during King Harşa's time, it is clear that he took special interest in the administration of justice and the redress of the grievances of the people, at least in the earlier part of his reign.

The earlier king, Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48), heard the case of a certain Brahmin even after he had finished with the business for the day and was in his dining hall.[4] His justice was so much appreciated that he became a model for the line of succeeding kings and he was looked upon in much the same way as Solomon by the Jews and Christians. During his time a fraudulent purchaser by means of a heavy bribe of one thousand *dīnāras* induced the official scribe *(adhikaraṇalekhaka)* to include a well in the sale of a house *(kūpasahitaṁ)*, while actually the owner had sold it excluding the well *(kūparahitaṁ)*. The seller of the

[1] The case gives an interesting reference to the prevalence of the system of credit in matters of ordinary daily purchases which exists even at present in many parts of India.

[2] *Rājat.*, VIII. 158. Cf. *Manu.*, ch. VIII, vs. 189-92; *Bṛhas.*, ch. XII, vs. 10-13; *Nīlamata.*, v. 839.

[3] *Rājat.*, VII.879-80; cf. *South Ind. Ins.*, vol. II, p. 311, note 3. The bells were probably introduced as a result of South Indian contacts.

house lodged a plaint against the purchaser.[1] When the case was brought before the judges they decided it in favour of the defendant. Ultimately the plaintiff appealed to the king. While all the councillors *(sabhyas)* were thoroughly convinced of the correctness of the previous judgment, the king realised that fraud had taken place. On reading the deed of sale, without letting the court know, he called on the defendant's accountant *(gaṇanādhyakṣa)* to produce the account book of the year in which the deed *(adhikaraṇapatra)* had been executed and, there finding ten hundred *dīnnāras* as the fee paid to the official recorder *(adhikaraṇalekhaka)*, he knew for certain that the merchant had got him to write *sa* for a *ra* in the phrase *kūparahitaṁ* in the deed. Confirming the truth from the official recorder, the king granted the house to the person who had originally sold it together with the property of the man to whom it had been sold and who had tried to defraud by tampering with the sale-deed and also exiled the latter from the land.[2] The secret manner and the pretence adopted by the king while calling the merchant's accountant was apparently to ensure that no trick *(chala)* may be played by the defendant.[3]

Another case recorded during the reign of this king is the decision of a dispute between a man whose purse containing money had fallen into a well and a stranger who took it out, and as to the remuneration payable to the latter. The story "only emphasizes the distinction between the letter and spirit of the law."[4]

A very interesting case is found during the reign of King Candrāpīḍa of the Kārkoṭa dynasty. A Brahmin woman's husband died while sleeping. She suspected that he had been killed by witchcraft by another Brahmin who was jealous of his

[1] *Rājat.*, VI.25-41. In India, as contrasted with England, it was usual to grant a plot of land either with or without its amenities such as wells, trees, rocks and buried treasure, etc.

[2] *Ibid.* Deprivation of all property and exile are recognised penalties in Hindu law. See *Yājña.*, I.339; P. V. Kane, *loc. cit.*, vol. III, p. 404.

[3] An instance of king's discretion and personal intelligence, cf. *Nārada.*, I.69-73; *Yājña.*, II.19-22; *Viṣṇu.*, ch. VI, v. 23.

[4] *Rājat.*, VI.42-67; Varadachariar, S., *The Hindu Judicial System*, p.240.

learning. The case was a doubtful one and the king was in great difficulty over its decision. So he told the lady: "What shall we judges do to a man whose guilt has not been seen. Not even another person can receive punishment if his guilt is not established, still less a Brahmin who is exempt from capital punishment although guilty."[1] But on the lady's insistence on redress the king had recourse to seeking divine *(divya)* judgement, and finding the footprints of *brahmahatyā* behind the Brahmin's footprints, he was punished accordingly.[2] Kalhaṇa does not mention the form of the punishment. The nature of the ordeal to which the culprit submitted is not clearly explained by him and has been considered further in this chapter.

A court of justice was (according to Bṛhaspati) of four kinds—one established in a fixed place *(pratiṣṭhitā)*, such as in town, not fixed in one place but moving from place to place as on a circuit *(apratiṣṭhitā)*, the court of a judge appointed by the king, who is authorized to use the royal seal *(mudritā)*, and the court in which the king himself presides (*śāsitā* or *śāstritā*) according to *Sarasvatīvilāsa* and *Prāśaramādhvīya*.

In *Lokaprakāśa*, a compendium of legal documents of Kashmir ascribed to Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa of the eleventh century, we find the verses :

Patitā ca pratiṣṭhā ca mudritā śāsitā tathā |
caturvidhā sabhā proktā sabhyāścaiva caturvidhāḥ ||
Pratiṣṭhitā pure grāme calatvādapratiṣṭhitā |
mudritā satyarthasaṁyuktā rājayuktā tu śāsitā ||[4]

Allowing for errors in the *Lokaprakāśa* text, the four kinds of courts mentioned here exactly accord with those of Bṛhaspati.[5] From the manner in which Kṣemendra mentions all these names of the courts along with the post of *rājasthānīya* and the

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.95-96,

[2] *Ibid.*, IV.82-105. Cf. *Viṣṇu.*, ch. V, vs. 2-4. Viṣṇu prescribes that for murdering another Brahmin the figure of a headless corpse be impressed on his forehead. For the term *brahmahatyā*, see Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I. IV. 103-4, note.

[3] *Sarasvatī Vilāsa*, p. 68; *Prāś. Mādh.*, ch. III, p. 24 quoted by Kane, P. V., *Hist. of Dh. Sh.*, vol. III, p. 277.

[4] *Lokaprakāśa*, ch. IV. p. 58.

[5] *Bṛhas.*, ch. I, v. 2; also see Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.601, note.

rājamahattama offices often occurring in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, we are induced to believe that such divisons of courts were well known in his time. The fact that we find no mention of the term *rājasthānīya* in the later chronicles suggests that the portion of the *Lokaprakāśa* dealing with justice is the genuine work of Kṣemendra and not a later interpolation as are many parts of the text.

Smṛti texts suggest that when owing to unavoidable circumstances the king cannot attend to the administration of justice, he should appoint a learned Brahmin together with three *sabhyas* to decide the disputes of the people.[1] The chief judge was preferably to be a learned Brahmin.[2] He is referred to as a *rājasthānīya* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[3] Alaṁkāra, who held this post in the reign of King Jayasiṁha, is once mentioned as *bāhyarājasthānādhikārabhāk*.[4] As already stated the king's courts were usually held in the royal palace and justice was dealt with in its outer part *(bāhyāli)*, hence the term *bāhyarājasthānādhikārabhāk* for *rājasthānīya*. This officer was apparently normally a Brahmin, and we find reference to *āsthānadvija*, *āsthānabrāhmaṇa* and *āsthānabhaṭṭa* as the councillors in the royal court of justice.[5] *Sabhyas*, as already stated, constituted an important element of the court. On the distinction between *sabyhas* and Brahmins, Kane writes: "The distinction is that *sabhyas* were appointed by the king as judges, while Brahmins were persons who were well-versed in the Dharmaśāstra, who could attend the court, though not appointed *(aniyukta)*, and whose opinions on difficult points of law were respectfully received by the judges."[6]

The chief justice, the *sabhyas*, and the learned Brahmins were probably elderly people whose presence was necessary in

[1] Kane, P. V., *Hist. of Dh. Sh.*, vol. III, p. 271. Vide *Manu.*, ch. VIII, vs. 9-10; *Yājña.*, II.3; *Śukra.*, ch. IV, sec. 5, v. 12; *Kāt.*, 63.

[2] *Manu.*, ch. VIII, v. 9; *Yājña.*, II.3. Cf. *Vasiṣ.*, ch. XVI, v.2.

[3] *Rājat.*, VIII.181, 573, 1046, 1982; *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 58; in *Viṣṇu.*, ch. IX, v. 33 he is known as *prādavivāka*.

[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.2557.

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.85-86, 1505 mentions *āsthānīya*. *Sam. Māt.*, VI.26, mentions *āsthānabhaṭṭa* for a councillor.

[6] Kane, P. V., *Hist. of Dh. Sh.*, vol. III, p. 274.

a court of justice. Nārada declares : "That is not a real *sabhā* where there are no elderly men."[1] The court in which the chief justice presided, or the court in which the chief judge was authorized to use the royal seal was the *mudritā* court. With the advent of the Lohara dynasty (A.D. 1001-1149), the *rājasthāna* office appears to have come into great prominence. The term is first used with reference to the time of King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89).[2] As for the officers known as *rājasthānīyamantriṇaḥ, rājagṛhyas*, Stein suggests that they may have been subordinate judicial officers.[3]

Divya is defined as that which decides a matter (in dispute) not determined by human means of proof, or that which decides what cannot be or is not to be decided by human means of proof.[4] The Indian Smṛti literature also amply testifies the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeal. It is, however, stated by them that ordeals are to be resorted to only if no human proofs such as witnesses, documents or even circumstantial evidence are available.[5] It is stated in *Vyavahāracintāmaṇi* that ordeal may be administered in major trials only, not elsewhere.[6]

While *Yājñavalkya., Viṣṇu., Nārada.* and *Vyāvaharacintāmaṇi* mention five different kinds of ordeals—by balance, fire, water, poison and holy water *(kośa)*, Bṛhaspati refers to nine different forms of ordeals. Manu mentions only three : plunging into water and holding fire or separately to touch the heads of wives and children.[7] *Divya* or divine judgement is mentioned first in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in connection with a judicial case during the

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.601; *Nārada.*, Introduction, III.16-18; *MBh.,Udyogaparva*, ch. XXXV, v. 58.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.601; VIII.181, 1046, 1982, 2618.

[3] *Rājat.*, VII.601; 1501; VIII.756, 3132; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.601, note.

[4] Kane, P. V., *Hist. of Dh. Sh.*, vol. III, p. 363.

[5] *Yājña.*, II.22; *Nārada.*, I.239; Introduction, II.29; *Bṛhas.*, ch. X, vs. 3-8; *Kāt.*, 217; also quoted by P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*

[6] *Cintāmaṇi*, p. 32.

[7] *Yājña.*, II.95; *Viṣṇu.*, ch. IX, v. 11; ch. XIV; *Nārada.*, I.252. The nine ordeals mentioned by Bṛhaspati are : "The balance, fire, water, poison, and fifthly, sacred libation; sixthly, grains of rice; seventhly, a hot piece of gold, are declared to be ordeals. The ploughshare is mentioned

reign of King Candrāpīḍa of the Kārkoṭa dynasty.[1] On a doubtful criminal case where death was caused by sorcery *(khārkhodavidyā)* the king had recourse to 'divine judgement.' But the ordeal mentioned is peculiar and is not found in any of the Smṛti texts. Referring to the disputes of ascetics and sorcerers Bṛhaspati says : "The king should cause the disputes of ascetics and of persons versed in sorcery and witchcraft to be settled by persons familiar with the three Vedas only and not (decide them) himself for fear of rousing their resentment."[2] In the present case the king was in great doubt as to the right decision in a case where death was suspected to have been caused by the secret means of sorcery. On the persistent demand of the widow of the dead man the king himself performed a fast *(prāyopaveśa)* at the feet of the image of Viṣṇu Tribhuvanasvāmin. Being pleased with King Candrāpīḍa's virtues Viṣṇu told him to throw rice-flour in the courtyard of the temple, make the Brahmin circumambulate the shrine three times and, if there were seen behind his footprints, the footprints of *brahmahatyā*, then he was the murderer. The rite was to be carried on during the night time. Eventually the guilt of the Brahmin sorcerer was proved and he was punished accordingly. This type of ordeal is not found elsewhere.

We cannot say with certainty whether this was a device used by the king to intimidate the sorcerer, or by the fear of divine justice to prevent him from using sorcery to obtain a favourable result, as might have been thought to happen if a normal ordeal had been employed. It is clear from this case that ordeal was one of the means of deciding doubtful criminal

as the eighth kind, the ordeal by Dharma (and Adharma) as the ninth." (*Bṛhas.* ch. X, vs. 4-5). Also see *Manu.*, VIII.114; *Vyavahāracintāmaṇi*, pp.538-85; *Watters*, vol. I, p. 172. H. Tsang mentions four kinds of ordeals—by water, by fire, by weighing and by poison (*Alberuni's India*, vol. II, pp. 158-60).

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.82-105. For *khārkhodavidyā* (witchcraft) see Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, IV.94, note.

[2] *Bṛhas.*, ch. I, v. 27. Bṛhaspati eulogises ordeals saying that "witnesses may disagree out of affection, anger or greed; when an ordeal is administered properly, no disagreement is possible anywhere."—*Bṛhas.*, ch. X, vs. 4, 5, 6, 16-18; *Nārada.*, I.239, 252.

cases where there was no other evidence available.[1] This case suggests that in criminal cases where there were no witnesses and no evidence of any other kind, no room even for ordeal *(divya)*, it was the king who had to decide as best as he could.

Another very common method of ordeal was that of sacred libation — *kośapāna*.[2] The ordeal of sacred libation is performed by swallowing three mouthfuls of consecrated water in which an idol has been bathed. The defendant is declared innocent if no misfortune befalls him within a fortnight or three weeks after the trial.[3] Nārada states that the ordeal by sacred libation has been laid down by learned men for all seasons indiscriminately.[4] Drinking holy water *(kośapāna)* was employed not only as an ordeal for proving innocence but it was resorted to also for assuring another of one's friendship and allegiance.[5] The oath by sacred libation in Kashmir had its own peculiarities and often involved other elements in addition to the mere drinking of holy water. King Cakravarman (A.D. 935), after losing his throne, came to the house of the Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma at Śrīḍhakka. When the king sought help for recovering his throne, the Ḍāmara made the king promise to treat all the Ḍāmaras with kindness after he had regained his throne. Thereupon the king and Ḍāmara each placed a foot on a sheepskin sprinkled with blood, and mutually took an oath by sacred libation *(kośa)* sword in hand.[6] This is an oath-taking ceremony of a type sometimes known as an Embodied Oath. "The largest class of oaths in the early and middle cultures, continuing also into the higher, is that in which the swearer swears 'by'

[1] Varadachariar, S., *The Hindu Judicial System*, pp. 238-39.

[2] *Rājat.*, V.326; VI.211; VII.8, 492; VIII.280, 2091, 2222, 2237, 3006, 3095.

[3] *Nārada.*, I.329-30; *Viṣṇu.*, ch. XIV, vs. 1-5; *Yājña.*, II.112-13; also quoted in *Vyavahāracintāmaṇi*, p. 327.

[4] *Nārada.*, I.327.

[5] *Rājat.*, VIII.2222, 2237.

[6] *Ibid.*, V.306, 324, 326. According to R. S. Pandit (*Rājat.*, V.326, note) this is an interesting illustration of a solemn oath among the warlike Kṣatriyas worthy of the ancient Scandinavians. Among the Brahmins the solemn oath consisted of the sacred libation,

or 'on' some object, powerful, dangerous, or sacred, or some person or animal with like qualities." In N.W. India a cock is killed and, as the blood is poured on the ground, the oath is taken 'over it.' The Khond swears on a tiger skin, praying for death from a tiger if he lies, upon a lizard skin, 'whose scaliness they pray may be their lot if forsworn,' or upon an ant-hill 'that they may be reduced to powder.' When a man swears to his truthfulness or innocence 'on' another person, the oath may be a conditional curse on that person, as a substitute for the swearer, or as if the swearer had insured that person's life, especially if held in reverence.[1] Thus, it is common for a man to swear on his children or parents. The Tungus swears, 'May I lose my children and my cattle !' The same oath is found in Mirzapur, and is common in the N. W. provinces of India. Men swear on the heads of their children, or hold a child in their arms : 'May my children die if I lie !' says the Kol.[2]

Another reference to oath by sacred libation, while the feet of the parties were placed on a blood-sprinkled sheep-skin, is found in the reign of King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49).[3] In order to dispel the fears and distrust of Bhoja, the son of Salhaṇa and the rival claimant to the throne of Jayasiṁha, the Khaśakas (Khaśas) took this oath. In all other references to the *kośapāna* ceremony, it takes place before the image of a deity in a shrine.[4] In the two references quoted above which introduce the blood-sprinkled skin, one of the parties in the first place is a Ḍāmara and in the second a group of Khaśas. It appears from this that the ceremony must have been peculiar to the tribal people of the hills and that the particular customs of the various people were respected. While referring to the texts quoted by Jolly,[5] wherein the *kośa* ordeal or oath is referred to both as a means of exculpa-

[1] Hastings, *Ency. of Rel. & Ethics*, vol. IX, p. 431.

[2] *Ibid.*; This practice of swearing by near and dear ones is commonly found in the day-to-day conversation in Kashmir even at present.

[3] *Rājat.*, VIII.3006.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII.459; VIII.2222. These cases suggest that due regard was given to the usages *(caritra)* of the parties concerned.

[5] J. Jolly, *Festgabe*, 146.

tion and as a procedure calculated to create confidence with reference to a subsequent transaction, Stein takes Kalhaṇa's references to *kośapāna* as illustrations of the second use of the word—to create confidence with reference to subsequent transactions.[1] Stein is broadly correct in this, but from the fact that in a verse wherein Kalhaṇa tells about the oath by sacred libation taken by the servants of Queen Sūryamatī after the death of King Ananta, in order to assure the safety of her grandson the rite is described as a *divya*,[2] it is clear that *kośapāna* must also have been sometimes used as a means of exculpation. This is corroborated by D. C. Sircar who writes, "It is interesting to note that the word *divya* originally meant an 'oath', that is, a form of invoking the Supreme Being to prove the truth of an allegation; but later it was generally understood to mean 'trial by ordeal,' that is, a form of appealing to the direct interposition of divine power. In connection with the development of the system of trial by ordeals, it is also interesting to note that while the system is unknown to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, it is seen sprouted in the codes of Āpastamba and Manu, a little developed in the works of Yājñavalkya and Nārada and fully grown in the code of Bṛhaspati."[3]

In Kalhaṇa's description of the unusual ordeal enforced by Candrāpīḍa, we are told that the wife of the dead Brahmin requested the king to use some very efficient ordeal against the Brahmin culprit because, owing to his knowledge of sorcery, the administration of any ordinary ordeal would be useless.[4] Among these other ordeals sacred libation *(kośapāna)* must surely have been included because of its very common occurrence throughout the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

Thus the choice of the ordeal depended on the circumstances and also the nature of the suit; and the personal character of the accused was particularly taken into consideration.

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V. 326, note.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.459. Cf. *Nārada.*, I.239, note. "The term *śapatha* denotes both an ordeal and an oath in this place, though some of the commentators deny that *śapatha* may have the former meaning."

[3] Sircar, D. C., *Studies in the Political and Administrative System in Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 124.

[4] *Rājat.*, IV.94.

CHAPTER FOUR

FEUDALISM

Feudalism is too wide a term to come within the bounds of any specific definition. As Dr. Helen Cam has remarked, the constitutional historian has tended to find the essence of feudalism in the fact that "land holding is the source of political power", while to the lawyer its essence has been that "status is determined by tenure", and to the economic historian "the cultivation of land by the exercise of rights over persons."[1] According to Prof. P. Struve, "Feudalism is a regime based on the legal recognition of the connection compulsory for both parties, between the vassal's service and the suzerain's grants to him. At the basis of this regime lies a contractual but indissoluble bond between service and land-grant, between personal obligation and real right."[2]

Marion Gibbs gives us three usages[3] of the term feudalism, each of which, she thinks, can be defended, if not equally well. In the first place there is the long established technical usage which arises from the legal meaning of the Latin term *feudum*, usually translated into English as "fee." This was the benefice or endowment of land which a man of free status received from his lord for his homage and service, usually military service. No fee, no feudalism, is the dogma of English academic historians. In the second place, the word feudal has been applied to the whole social order which developed after the German conquests in Europe, and so to all the principal features of English society, including the relationship between manorial lords and dependent unfree peasants, and the relationship between lords and freeholders, whether they owned land in their own right or

[1] Cam, H. M., "The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism," The Quarterly Journal of Historical Association, N. S., London, 1940.

[2] Struve, P., *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (ed. J.H. Clapham and Eileen Power, Cambridge, 1941), vol. I, p. 427.

[3] M. Gibbs, *Feudal Order*, p. 2.

held fees. In the third place, feudalism is sometimes identified with the economic system which prevailed in Europe before the rise of capitalism, in particular with serfdom. Marxists, M. Gibbs adds, have given more point to this usage, very common among economic historians, by linking it to their conception of epochs of historical development, each characterised by the evolution of a particular mode of production, which conditioned, as they suggest, the general character of the corresponding social and political process. Feudal society, they will remind us, was a class society.[1]

Marion Gibbs believes that the Marxist conception of feudalism as an epoch of development in which the mode of production is fundamental, is a useful approach to the period following the Germanic migrations of the fifth century, in so far as it leads to matter of fact analysis of the changing structure of society. Feudalism, according to her, is to be regarded as a process of social development involving the transformation of certain tribal institutions and the destruction of others.

Prof. M. N. Pokrovsky, a Soviet Marxist historian, regarded feudalism *inter alia* as a system of self-sufficient "natural economy", by contrast with a moneyed "exchange economy",—as "an economy that has consumption as its object."[2]

According to Coulborn "for a provisional description: feudalism is primarily a method of government, not an economic or a social system, though it obviously modifies and is modified by the social and economic environment. It is a method of government in which the essential relation is not that between ruler and subject, state and citizen, but between lord and vassal. This means that the performance of political functions depends on personal agreements between a limited number of individuals, and that political authority is treated as a private possession. Since personal contacts are so important in feudal government, it tends to be most effective at the local level where such contacts

[1] M. Gibbs, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[2] Pokrovsky, *Brief History of Russia* (tr. D. S. Mirsky, London, 1933), vol. I, p. 289.

are easy and frequent. Since political power is personal rather than institutional, there is relatively little separation of functions; the military leader is usually an administrator and the administrator is usually a judge."[1]

The system of government as it existed in Kashmir during the period under review or earlier cannot fit into exactly any of the definitions given above.

There was the king, his ministers and his council. The king formulated policies and his ministers carried them out, and there were a number of appointed officials (Kāyasthas and *niyogis*) carrying on administration at a local level. Thus the basis of authority was not feudal, though ministers generally had very little separation of functions. Military leaders usually also served as administrators such as judges; though their power was not personal but was vested in them by the monarch, who might withdraw it at will.

Moreover, "the men who discharge political functions in a feudal society are not necessarily aristocrats when they first begin to gain power, but—unless the experience is an abortive one—they soon are recognised as an aristocracy. There are usually marked distinctions within the aristocracy; even in the simplest feudal society there are leaders and followers, and in a highly developed feudal society, such as that of Western Europe, many more gradations may be found. In theory, and occasionally in practice, the feudal aristocracy can be an aristocracy of ability. Actually, in all feudal societies there has been a strong, almost irresistible tendency towards heredity of function."[2]

In Kashmir, the offices were bestowed upon able persons whatever caste they might belong to and whatever standard of living they might maintain. During the period under review there is no evidence of a feudal hierarchy as such. On the contrary, as already noted, there is no marked tendency towards heredity of functions, though something like the hereditary principle is found when members of the same family are put to

[1] Coulborn, R., *Feudalism in History*, pp. 4-5.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

various offices.[1] This can also be due to the ability of the family concerned. One example of the father's office devolving upon the son is noted with gratitude by Kalhaṇa, when he says : "How should we praise that kindness of the king who puts in the place of the dead minister his boy son ?"[2]

In the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, Alaṁkāra is called "the best of the *sāmantas*,"[3]—a word which often seems to mean a feudal vassal though this minister was a salaried state servant paid in cash. Time and again we find reference to *sāmantas*, especially as respectable members of society and as feudal vassals of the state, while we find also *sāmantas* as tributary princes who might have originally been independent neighbours and not feudal landlords. Again, "no static definition can be entirely satisfactory, for feudalism, like any other political system, constantly develops. To the static definition, therefore, may be added one in dynamic terms. In those terms feudalism can be described as a series of responses to a certain kind of challenge. A challenge which affected a good many societies was that of decay or weakening of a highly organized political system—an empire or a relatively large kingdom. The spasms of disintegration of such a system can sometimes produce by way of response a series of moves towards reconstruction which lead in a feudal direction. In such cases feudalism usually has some tinge of legal sophistication, some relics of or tendencies toward centralisation."[4] Here again we find that the case of Kashmir is peculiarly different. As a hill state, it is an isolated region "where there is not the excuse of foreign invasions, decay of empire, new religions and so on" to account for social change.[5]

Considering all these definitions we agree with Maine that the term feudalism "has the defect of calling attention to one set only of its characteristic incidents." The conception of

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.183.

[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.2473.

[3] *Śrīkaṇṭha.*, XXV.40-41.

[4] Coulborn, R., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[5] Kosambi, D. D., *Annals of the Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, vol. XXXVI, parts III and IV, 1956, p. 260.

feudalism, according to Sprott, "is extremely confused. Common to all uses of the word is the implication of an agricultural society in which there are large estates, cultivated by persons in varying degrees of servitude, and with various obligations. Such a state of affairs may develop out of a tribal system as it emerges, for one cause or another, from a relatively egalitarian regime into a differentiated stratification in which some members of clans become dominant over other members of their tribe, or of other tribes which they have conquered. It may, on the other hand, come about with the collapse of a social structure, when men retire from the political and urban life to live on their estates. This is what happened as the Roman Empire drifted into decline. ...Usually, however, the word 'feudalism' implies more than this. It implies : (1) the holding of land on condition of services, either administrative or military, and (2) a personal relation of loyalty between vassal and lord. Either of these may be stressed at the expense of the other, or both may be equally important."[1]

According to Liversedge, in primitive societies "we shall find the distinction between feudal and tribal system mainly in the degree to which a political system is superimposed upon ordinary tribal practice."[2]

In Buganda, for instance, there was a supreme monarch, the Kabaka, and under him three classes exercising local authority : "(a) The Bakungu or chiefs appointed by the Kabaka to govern the administrative areas into which the country was divided; (b) The Batangole or particular individuals to whom land was allotted by the Kabaka in return for services rendered; and (c) The Bataka or heads of the indigene class who exercised their authority by immemorial right."[3] The remainder of the people were Bakopi or peasants who appear to have held their land by prescription. Here all the motifs intertwine : bureaucracy, fief, and tribal custom.[4]

[1] Sprott, W. J. H., *Sociology*, p. 63.

[2] Liversedge, *Land Tenure in the Colonies* (Cambridge, 1945), p. 19.

[3] Meek, *Land, Law & Custom in the Colonies*, p. 132.

[4] *Ibid.* Note : In Buganda (a kingdom in Uganda) a newcomer could obtain land by applying to the local chief. Anyone short of land might

The state of agricultural society described above bears a curious resemblance to the conditions existing in Kashmir during the period under review. After surveying all the details of conditions as they appear from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we find the existence firstly, of a bureaucracy; secondly, of feudatories *(sāmantas)* or fief-holders, who provided a part of the king's armies whenever he had to fight against foreign invasions, adjoining chiefs or even against the Ḍāmaras in the land; and thirdly, of the Ḍāmaras, petty chiefs in the villages, often indigenous, who might have risen from lower ranks of society, as appears from one reference in the chronicle. These roughly correspond to the Bakungu, the Batangole and Bataka of Buganda.

Regarding the system in Buganda Sprott sums up : "Thus we can envisage a political system of authority superimposed on tribal customs, among which must be noted the traditional and regulated presentations due from the tribesmen to the chief, and on a state of affairs in which there are already estate-holders in possession, on land tilled by people who are more or less tied to the soil and often with dependants (e.g. the Roman colonus) who owe them service. The more the monarch can administer by means of a bureaucracy, and a paid army, the more 'absolute' his power is; the more he has to decentralize administration, grant fiefs and benefices in return for services, and confirm land-ownership on the same terms, the more he approximates to 'feudalism' in the political sense, and beyond feudalism, if the power of the monarch is weak, and his administrative organisation immature, lies that threat of anarchy which besets the policy of the feudal king."[1]

In Kashmir we find the political system of authority being imposed on tribal people, though not on tribal custom. We do not get any evidence to show traditional presentations to the overlord, though there must have existed something of the sort. We have chiefs or Ḍāmaras in Kashmir, who held estates, and

obtain a temporary loan from a friend for growing seasonal crops. No payment was expected but custom prescribed some gift at the harvest. The lender of the land could resume it when he pleased.

[1] Sprott, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

tillers who were more or less tied to the soil. There is also the tendency on the part of the monarch to centralize the administration by means of bureaucracy, and a paid army, though there are *sāmantas* or feudal chiefs and Ḍāmaras or territorial land-owners, whose turbulence and struggle for power ultimately compelled the monarchs to incorporate them into the regular state order, though we do not find the complete victory of a feudalism arising out of the growing power of the Ḍāmaras as one authority has suggested.[1] In fact the power of the Ḍāmaras was never complete. Even King Uccala (A.D. 1101-11), who had gained the throne with their help and had given them the position of feudatories, later carried on enormous compaign of repression and tried to curb their power.[2]

We cannot have any complete picture of the medieval Kashmir unless we keep in view the following features of the system :

1. The monarch ensuring some patrimony for himself like the crown lands in medieval England,[3] called *kheri* in Kashmir. 2. (a) Feudal chiefs or *sāmantas* including Brahmin feudal chiefs *(sāmantadvija)*, (b) Feudatories or tributary princes known as *sāmantas* or *nṛpāḥ*, (c) Brahmin donees of *agrahāra* grants *(pāriṣadyas)*. 3. The Ḍāmaras. 4. The peasants.

We shall now take up each of these categories in detail.

Often in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, *kherikārya* is mentioned as a high state office.[4] According to Wilson *khed* or *kher* means ploughing or tillage and *kheḍe* or *khera*, a small and chiefly agricultural village, while in Bundelkhand it is the land immediately adjacent to a village.[5] Stein has, on the basis of a verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the later chronicle of Śrīvara, identified *kheri* with the name of a district *(viṣaya)* now known by the double

[1] Kosambi, D. D., *op. cit.*, pp. 259-60, 336.

[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.39-42.

[3] This is like the 'stool' land in Ashanti and elsewhere in Africa, the Capetian lands round the Seine and Loire. (Sprott, *loc. cit.*).

[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.960, 1009, 1118, 1482, 1624; *Śrīvara.*, III.190; IV.452.

[5] Wilson, *Glossary of Indian Terms*, p. 284.

name of Khur-Nārvāv,[1] comprising the fertile valleys descending from the Gulabgarh and Muhi passes of Pir Panjal to the Veśau (ancient Viśokā) river rising near the Konsar Naga *(Krama Saras)* lake in the Pir Panjal range.[2] As *kheri* was the name of a district and *kherikārya* a special charge and an important one too, we believe that Stein was quite correct in suggesting that it was a royal allodial domain,[3] the mangement of which must have been in the charge of an official of ministerial rank. It is curious to find the charge of a district named *kheri* mentioned along with great offices like that of *pādāgra* (chief revenue officer), *dvārādhipati* (warden of the marches), and *rājasthānīya* (chief justice). There were other districts also but we do not find any special officer invested with the charge. Some such administrative arrangements must have existed with regard to each district *(viṣaya)*, but none was perhaps considered so conspicuously important as this one. This could not be due to the strategic importance of the district, because we have already seen that the frontiers were in charge of the Warden of the Marches *(drārapati)*. The royal allodial domain, it seems, must have been managed by a great official appointed by the king, like the royal demesne or crown-lands of Medieval England.

It is strange, however, that the reference to this office occurs for the first time only in the reign of King Sussala (A.D. 1121-28) of the second Lohara dynasty, when the charge of *kheri* is given to one Malla. The other important office mentioned at the same time is that of the commander-in-chief *(kampanāpati)*.[4] We cannot account for the late appearance of this term. It may be that *kheris* existed in earlier reigns, but for some reason Kalhaṇa did not mention them. On the other hand, the circumstances under which the kings of the second Lohara dynasty ruled and the strength that the landed aristocracy—the Ḍāmaras —was acquiring, may have induced the kings to seek security

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII.1260; *kheri* is clearly mentioned as *viṣaya* (district).

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, V.5, note; vol. II, p. 415.

[3] *Ibid.*, I.335, note.

[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.1481-82, 1624.

in their control of the crown-lands, and in the appointment of a special high minister in this office.

The crown-land—a fertile tract—must have made a substantial addition to the king's personal income and produced much grain for the royal granaries. We are told that King Uccala (A.D. 1101-11) sold his own grain stores at cheaper prices to help the people in times of famine, relieving them of their distress.[1]

We now take up the *sāmantas* who constituted the second category mentioned above.

The term *sāmanta*, according to Monier Williams, has various meanings[2]—'being on all sides', bordering, limiting, a neighbour, a vassal, feudatory prince, the chief of a district (paying tribute to the lord paramount), a minister, a leader, a general, a captain, a champion. Kalhaṇa uses the term *sāmanta* loosely. Therefore it will not be right to accept anyone whom he refers to by this title as a feudal chief.

In *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, written by Maṅkha, the minister Alaṁkāra is praised as the best of the *sāmantas*.[3] We do not know whether by calling him such, the author meant to say that he was the best of the ministers or the best of the feudal chiefs. Kṣemendra, in his *Lokaprakāśa*,[4] gives lists of synonyms of the names of the four great classes of society, among which *sāmanta* occurs as one of the epithets of the Brahmins. J. Bloch in his French translation of the *Lokaprakāśa* translates *sāmanta* as 'chantre'[5] or hymn-singer, but we cannot believe that the word had this meaning in Lohara times. Taking the word *sāmanta* as one of the epithets of the Brahmins, we would be led to think that whenever the kings of Kashmir are stated to be attended by the *sāmantas* in the court, it always meant the Brahmins or the Brahmin ministers; but on the other hand our evidence gives quite a different impression. King Jayāpīḍa (end of the eighth century) is found attended by vassals *(sāmantas)* when he received

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.61.

[2] Monier Williams, *The Sanskrit-English Dictionory*, p. 1205.

[3] *Śrīkaṇṭha*, canto XXV, vs. 40-41.

[4] J. Bloch, *Le Lokaprakāça*, p. 1.

[5] *Ibid.*

the Brahmins to whom he gave audience when the latter approached him in order to complain against the ruthless confiscation of *agrahāras*.[1] Kṣemendra seems to use the term to indicate one of the various activities of the Brahmins.[2]

It is possible that Maṅkha in his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* uses the term *sāmanta* for his brother Alaṁkara in the capacity of high state official who enjoyed landed estates. Kalhaṇa ordinarily uses the term loosely for the feudal chiefs including Brahmin *dvijas* as well as for the princes in the adjoining areas who helped in times of war and paid tribute.[3] He uses it for the Ḍāmaras also, but only twice throughout the whole of his work.[4]

We first come across this term in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* when Mātṛgupta (first half of the sixth century), who is nominated as the ruler of Kashmir, arrives at the frontiers and is received by all the ministers.[5] When King Cakravarman of the Varman dynasty became king for the third time (A.D. 936-37), he is referred to as surrounded by affectionate feudal chiefs *(sāmantas)*, ministers and Ekāṅgas.[6] When this king granted an audience to the Ḍomba singer called Raṅga, the door-keepers seated, in proper order, the ministers and the chiefs *(sāmantas)* who had come.[7] King Unmattāvanti's (A.D. 937-39) son Śūravarman just a child was also entrusted to the chiefs *(sāmantas)*, councillors, Ekāṅgas and Tantrins.[8] Consequently, when Kamalavardhana, the

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.643. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 67f. In the land-grants of Harṣavardhana the terms *sāmanta-mahārāja* and *mahāsāmanta* appear as the titles of big imperial officers. Cf. *Ep. Ind.* vol. I, p. 67f, vol. IV, p. 208, vol. X, p. 89.

In the inscriptions dated in the Kalacuri Cedi era, from A. D. 597 onwards *rājās* and *sāmantas* took the place of *uprikas* and *kumārāmātyas*. (*CII*, p. 394, verse 5). See Lallanji Gopal, *Annals of Bh. Or. Res. Ins.*, vol. XLIV, p. 30.

[2] *Lokaprakāśa*, ch. I, vs. 7-10.

[3] *Rājat.*, V.220-24, 355, 446, 451-52; VI. 90-91, 132; VII.47-48, 91. Cf. *KSS*, vol. III, p. 73.

[4] *Rājat.*, V.395; VIII.7.

[5] *Ibid.*, III.232.

[6] *Ibid.*, V.341-47.

[7] *Ibid.*, V.355.

[8] *Ibid.*, V.446.

commander-in-chief who was struggling to get the throne for himself, learnt about Śūravarman's being nominated as the king, he too reached in haste the vicinity of the city of Srinagar, accompanied by feudal chiefs *(sāmantaiḥ)*. As he entered the city, together with his troops, he was stopped by Ekāṅgas, Tantrins, *sāmantas* (feudal chiefs), and horsemen.[1] When King Yaśaskara of the Utpala dynasty (A.D. 939-48) consecrated Varṇaṭa as king, the consecration *(abhiṣeka)* was performed by the king, ministers and feudal chiefs *(sāmantas)*.[2] At Parvagupta's accession (A.D. 949-50), we find princes, Ekāṅgas, chiefs *(sāmantas)*, ministers, officials and Tantrins mentioned together.[3] When King Saṁgrāmarāja of the first Lohara dynasty sent forces to help the Śāhi King Trilocanapāla against Mahmūd of Ghaznī, the army was attended by many *rājaputras*, chief councillors, feudal chiefs *(sāmantas)* and others capable of "making the earth shake."[4] When Tuṅga, the commander-in-chief under Saṁgrāmarāja, became too arrogant and was hated by the people, the king had him murdered. Kalhaṇa mentions him as having his own troops, but also describes one Bhujaṅga, the son of a Brahmin feudal chief *(sāmanta)*, as fighting for him against the king.[5]

In all these references the term *sāmanta* is used in the sense of a feudal chief or a minister. Ministers are also mentioned separately by such terms as *amātya*, *mantrin*, or *saciva* in each case. Thus we find that the obligations of the *sāmantas* included military service and attendance on the person of the king, and they evidently formed a regular part of the state order together with the ministers, Ekāṅgas, etc. This is clear from the fact that we find them with the king in his court, joining both social gatherings and state activities, and not being called upon only at the time of internal strife or foreign expeditions. We do not have, however, an exact idea of their rights and

[1] *Rājat.*, V.451-52.
[2] *Ibid.*, VI.90-91; cf. *Nīlamata.*, vs. 817, 831.
[3] *Rājat.*, VI.132.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.47-48.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.91.

obligations.

The kings of Kashmir were also followed while on their expeditions, by the "adjoining princes" who were subordinate to them and paid tribute *(kara)*. These are usually termed *nṛpa, rājā, naranātha, mahipāla, bhūpati* and also even *sāmanta*. King Jayāpīḍa, for example, was followed in his expeditions for the conquest of the world *(digvijaya)*, by feudatory chiefs[1] *(nṛpaiḥ)* and princes, who evidently had their own armies,[2] while Mummuni and other chiefs *(mummunipramukhāḥ nṛpāḥ)* roamed with fierce *caṇḍālas* outside his army and formed a guard at night.[3] King Saṁkaravarman also revived the tradition of "conquest of the world" *(digvijaya)* and his army too was swelled from place to place by the troops of feudatory chiefs *(naranāthānāṁ pṛtnābhiḥ)* as a large river by the streams which join it.[4] We have, however, another reference wherein, while narrating the expeditions of the same king, Kalhaṇa tells us that while returning from one of his expeditions against Daradas, the king was killed and the fact was kept concealed by his ministers who so arranged his dead body that, by means of hidden cords, it was made to appear to be accepting the homage of the *sāmantas* who came to submit to him.[5] Since this is said to have taken place outside the bounds of Kashmir, the *sāmantas* here referred to must be local chiefs recently conquered and not regular feudal vassals. The term is usually used in this latter sense in ancient Indian records. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya[6] and the inscriptions of Aśoka in the Maurya period this term meant independent neighbours. In the post-Mauryan law-books, however, it began to be used in the sense of a feudal lord, as has been shown by B. N. Dutta.[7] From Gupta times onwards, the word *sāmanta* was regulary used in the sense of a feudatory chief or lord. By the time of Harṣa it appears as the title of big imperial officers.

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.404; VIII.519, 584.
[2] *Ibid.*, IV.414.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV.516.
[4] *Ibid.*, V.140.
[5] *Ibid.*, V.220-24.
[6] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. V, ch. 6.
[7] B. N. Datta, *Hindu Law of Inheritance*, p. 27.

In Kashmir, as we have shown above, the word *sāmanta* was used not only for the feudal chiefs but also for ministers, the landed aristocracy and tributary kings.

We now take up the category of Brahmin donees of *agrahāra* grants. Just as the church as a land-holding institution was an inseparable part of the economic, social and political structure of feudal Europe, so the Brahmins in India, including Kashmir, held lands as grants given to them by the king. They held the strings of the educational system and dictated the philosophy of life.[1]

Often in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we find *agrahāra* as a regular term used by Kalhaṇa for designating a village or a piece of land, the revenue of which was assigned to an individual, corporation *(pārṣad)* or religious institution.[2] These religious land-grants slowly helped towards the development of feudal order, and we have a reference in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* where Kalhaṇa mentions a Brahmin feudal lord *(sāmanta-dvija)*.[3] Possibly, these Brahmins, like the chiefs, held lands on service tenure, as military leaders in times of war or internal disturbances during the period under review.[4] Whether these villages were cultivated by the Brahmins themselves or were cultivated by peasants, who held the land from them, is not indicated by Kalhaṇa. We have also a reference to *agrahāra* being granted to non-Brahmin donee.[5]

We next come to the fourth category—the Ḍāmaras. The term Ḍāmara is one of frequent occurrence in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the people to whom it relates played a very significant part in the history of Kashmir, especially during the times of the first and the second Lohara dynasties.[6]

The history of Medieval Kashmir is full of the struggle of the monarchy against this section of society, which not only

[1] Cf. Marion Gibbs, *Feudal Order*, Intro., p. 9.
[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, I.87, note.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.91.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.3018.
[5] *Ibid.*, V.397.
[6] See Appendix V.

endangered the very existence of the ruling dynasty, but also became a terror to the rest of the population. The Ḍāmaras appear to have been rather like the Bataka[1] or heads of the indigene class of Buganda, who exercised their authority by immemorial right. At first, they do not appear to have been very strong, but later, under weak rulers, we find them very powerful and they emerge into a position of great importance by the time of the Lohara dynasties. The whole of the strife during the times of the Loharas may be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the kings to superimpose a system of political authority on the Ḍāmaras and the latter trying to assert their authority and attain offices of state, especially when they had made themselves economically secure.

The question arises as to how far the Ḍāmara was a "bojar"—feudal landowner or baron.[2] The service of both the *sāmantas* and the Ḍāmaras was based on their holdings. The *sāmantas* and the Ḍāmaras or Lavanyas, though parts of the general feudal order, are mentioned as two separate entities in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[3] Kalhaṇa generally mentions the *sāmantas* favourably[4] while he has scorn and hatred for the Ḍāmaras. In view of the anarchic conditions prevailing when the Ḍāmaras were constantly encouraging claimants for the throne or rising in revolt themselves, it was natural for Kalhaṇa to have cherished bitter feelings against these local lords. The struggle does not appear to have been waged between the monarchy and the feudal organisation as a whole, but between the kings and the Ḍāmaras, for the *sāmantas* are regularly found to be fighting on the side of kings against the Ḍāmaras.[5] Kalhaṇa surprisingly gives no instance of a rebel *sāmanta*.

In the earlier books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the Ḍāmaras are only once mentioned as *sāmantas*,[6] which shows that occasionally the Ḍāmaras loyal to the king might be incorporated into

[1] *Supra*, p. 70.
[2] Cf. Hutchison & Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, vol. I, p. 17.
[3] *Rājat.*, VIII.909-10, 1072-78.
[4] *Ibid.*, V.405, 406; VIII.7, 856, 968, 991, 1033.
[5] *Supra*, Chapter III; *Rājat.*, VIII.1066-67.
[6] *Rājat.*, V.395.

the regular feudal order established under his leadership. On the other hand, we have many references[1] where *sāmantas* and Ḍāmaras are mentioned as separate classes. In a verse Kalhaṇa specifically uses the word *ḍāmarakula*, "Ḍāmara tribe", to differentiate one part of the army from the regular Kashmir soldiers of various feudatory families.[2] If the Ḍāmaras had formed a part of the regular feudal organisation, there would have been no necessity of mentioning them separately. Moreover, they would have been liable to all the obligations and eligible for all the privileges of the *sāmantas*. In the reference quoted above, Kalhaṇa seems even to distinguish between Ḍāmaras and Kashmirians, as though he scornfully rejects their rights to be looked upon as authentic members of the community.[3] Could this be due to their descent from a tribal section of Kashmir society ?

As regards the conditions under which their landed property, the basis of their influence, was acquired and held, Stein suggests that "a kind of service-tenure, the grant of land in return for military or other services, may have been the original foundation of the system."[4] He made this suggestion on comparing the conditions prevailing in other parts of India, and in the absence of any exact data, he took it as a mere conjecture.[5]

In an earlier instance King Cakravarman (A.D. 935), after losing the throne, came to the house of the Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma and asked for his help to get it back.[6] The Ḍāmara made him promise to look upon his entire class, at all times, in kindness. Thereafter they entered into a solemn compact by placing their feet on a sheepskin sprinkled with blood, and mutually took an

[1] *Rājat.*, V.446, 447, 451, 454; VIII.1078.

[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.1078.

[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.887, 1078; Lawrence, *The Valley*, p. 306. Kalhaṇa mentions a coalition of Kashmirian, Khaśa and Mlecchа forces sent by Bhikṣācara against King Sussala at Lohara by way of Rājapurī. The distinction is made in the same way as Kalhaṇa does in the above-quoted verse between Ḍāmaras and Kashmirians.

[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 307.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Rājat.*, V.306.

oath by sacred libation, sword in hand.[1] It was only after this agreement that King Cakravarman was able to collect a large number of Ḍāmaras to help him. From this particular case it appears that if there had been any definite system of land-tenure based on relations of mutual protection and military service between the king and the Ḍāmara, there should not have been any necessity of the two parties entering into such an agreement. Nor is the king anywhere described as reminding the Ḍāmaras of their sworn duty towards him. After having regained the throne with their help, we find him again forgetting his promise and persecuting them.[2] The fact that King Cakravarman was no longer the ruling sovereign at the time strengthens our view that Saṁgrāma was free to enter into an agreement with anyone, whether he was on the throne or not, for if this were not so, his allegiance would have been transferred to the new king the moment Cakravarman was dethroned.

There is no reference in the chronicle to throw light on the relations between the Ḍāmaras and their numerous troops. But Saṁgrāma's condition to King Cakravarman—"if you promise to look upon us all at all times in kindness, I march before you with troops on the morrow"—shows that some sort of service-tenure must have existed between the Ḍāmaras and their followers, who would march at their lord's command. The Ḍāmara troops apparently did not have any direct relations with the king, and it was only after the agreement that they followed their chief to help him.

There is no mention of any quarrel between the Ḍāmaras and their followers or any rising by the latter. Kalhaṇa's silence in this respect suggests that the relations between the powerful Ḍāmaras and their followers, who may have been the actual tillers of the soil, must have been quite good. In one reference, it is stated that King Salhaṇa (A.D. 1111-12) persuaded Gargacandra, the all powerful Lavanya minister of his time, to give his daughter to him in marriage, but Gargacandra's followers did not wish that he should ally himself with a king who

[1] *Rājat.*, V.326.
[2] *Ibid.*, V.405.

was like a mere ghost.[1] In this connection we may take into consideration the views of Hallam and Tod. Hallam found a resemblance of fiefs in the Zamindars of Hindustan and the Timariots of Turkey. He wrote that "the clans of the Highlanders and Irish followed their chieftain into the field; but their tie was that of imagined kindred and birth, not the spontaneous compact of vassalage."[2] Tod on the other hand believed in the existence of feudalism in late Medieval Rajasthan. He wrote:[3] "The leading features of government amongst the semi-barbarous hordes or civilised independent tribes must have a considerable resemblance to each other. In the same stages of society, the wants of men must everywhere be similar, and will produce analogies which are observed to regulate Tartar hordes or German tribes, Caledonian clans, the *rājpūta kula* (race) or *jaraja bhayyad* (brotherhood)." To this we may add the Ḍāmara *kula*.

This system of *sāmantas* and Ḍāmaras finds resemblance to the two classes of Rajput landholders in Mewar. One is the Girasia Thakkur or lord, the other, the *bhumia*. The Girasia chieftain is he who holds *giras* by grant *(paṭṭa)* of the prince, for which he performs service with specified quotas at home and abroad, renewable at every lapse when all the ceremonies of resumption, the fine of relief and the investiture take place.[4] The *bhumia* does not renew his grant, but holds it on prescriptive possession. He succeeds without any fine, but pays a small annual quit-rent, and can be called upon for local service in the district which he inhabits for a certain period of time. As for

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.441.

[2] *Middle Ages*, vol. I, p. 200 quoted by Sircar, D. C., *Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 36.

[3] Tod, *Annals and Antjquities of Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 154. Knowing that Bhumia tenures "appeared in the parts of Mewar settled since remotest antiquity where they were defended from oppression by the rocks and wilds in which they obtained a footing; as in Kumbhalmer, the wilds of Chappan or plains of Mandalgarh, long under the kings, and where their agricultural pursuits maintained them," we are reminded of King Lalitāditya's injunctions to his ministers regarding treatment towards people in the hills. (Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 166, 196).

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91.

the *sāmantas* or feudal lords of the *Rājataraṅginī*, we believe that they must have held lands of the kings, but regarding the stipulation of specified quotas at home and abroad, renewals on lapse involving the ceremonies of resumption, the fine of relief, and the investiture, we have no evidence whatsoever in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* or any of the other sources concerned with the period.

That the Ḍāmaras of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* may be compared with the Bhumia of Tod is evident from the story of a Ḍamāra Lakkanacandra[1] who held the castle of Dugdhaghāṭa (modern Dudakhut pass) which guarded the old route to the Darada country. He had been executed by the order of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63). Subsequently his widow had offered the hill fort to King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89) with a view to assuring the safety of the neighbouring tract from inroads of the Daradas. King Kalaśa refused the offer. The stronghold then fell into the power of the Darada king, from whom Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) subsequently vainly endeavoured to recover it with the assistance of the neighbouring Ḍāmaras.[2] From this Stein has drawn the conclusion that "strongholds as well as land had practically become hereditary possessions in the families of these feudal lords, whenever the central authority in the land was unable or unwilling to assert the right of resumption."[3] But why did King Kalaśa refuse the offer ? If he did so on account of his weakness and inability to hold the fort, why did not King Ananta take it, when he had sufficient strength to accomplish the execution of the Ḍāmara who held it ? If he had held the fort of the king by any form of feudal tenure, it would have ultimately lapsed to the king after the execution of the Ḍāmara and, again, if the king had any feudal rights over it, Kalaśa would have been obliged to accept the offer of the Ḍāmara's wife as a matter of right and duty rather than of favour. That the offer came from the Ḍāmara's wife after the reign of King Ananta shows that she succeeded to her husband's possessions as a matter of right, and

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1171-74.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.1177ff.
[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 306.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

if any royal sanction was needed, she might have taken it. So we cannot agree with Stein's conclusion that the Ḍāmaras' holdings were becoming hereditary by the weakening of the central authority; it would rather seem that they were hereditary by long standing tradition at all times.

In the earlier period we do not find the Ḍāmaras to have formed a part of the regular royal army. Queen Diddā's[1] commander-in-chief is seen destroying the hosts of the Ḍāmaras. We do not find them in the army sent under Tuṅga to help Śāhi Trilocanapāla against Mahmūd of Ghaznī.[2] Only in turbulent times of civil strife do we find them taking sides with one or other faction, usually against the ruling king.

The main concern of the Ḍāmaras in the civil wars between King Harṣa and the rival claimants, the brothers Uccala and Sussala, was the amount of power and influence that they themselves could wield. Harṣa, Uccala, Sussala or Bhikṣācara, whosoever might have been on the throne, did not matter to them so long as their own position was secure; much less could they tolerate the attempts of any of these rulers to bring them down. King Harṣa's attempt to curb the Ḍāmaras by making them work on water-wheels and do forced labour had disastrous results.[3] Joining hands with rival claimants, Uccala and Sussala, they rose against the king.[4] After the revolt which drove Harṣa from the throne, it was they who carried away the ladies of his seraglio and ultimately murdered him in the hut in which he was hiding;[5] and it was with the forces supplied by this section of the Kashmir population that the rival claimants to the throne brought about the fall of the first Lohara dynasty.

Naturally the kings of the second Lohara dynasty had learnt a lesson and hence they attempted to deal with this turbulent aristocracy in a manner different from that which had been used by Harṣa. With the advent of the second Lohara dynasty

[1] *Rājat.*, VI.354.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.46-47.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1232.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1578-83.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1709.

we note a marked development in the Ḍāmaras' position in the state. We find them in high posts,[1] firstly, because they had helped King Uccala (A.D. 1101-11) get the throne and, secondly, because they had become so strong that it became difficult for the kings to neglect them. During this period they are occasionally mentioned as feudatories *(sāmantas)* and as ministers.[2] Their recognition by the kings and incorporation into the state order reminds us of Coulborn's words that "men who discharge political functions in a feudal society are not necessarily aristocrats when they first begin to gain power, but—unless the experience is an abortive one—they soon are recognised as an aristocracy. Even in the simplest feudal society there are leaders and followers."[3] Thus we find the Ḍāmaras also soon being recognised as an aristocracy. This recognition was, however, enforced by the circumstances of the history of Medieval Kashmir. Kalhaṇa much disdains their rise to power,[4] but, as a shrewd politician, he is prepared to accept them. In this connection we have also to bear in mind that their rise to power and their recognition by the kings did not settle matters. They still lent support to the rival claimants to the throne for their own selfish motives, while on the other hand, the kings accepted their support because they had no choice but to curb or conciliate them. The period of the second Lohara dynasty presents a constant struggle between the great Ḍāmara leaders striving to assert their importance by putting puppet rulers on the throne, and the kings trying to cope with them by means of cunning and shrewd diplomacy—by fostering mutual jealousies among them, and even by entering into matrimonial alliances with the most powerful of them.[5]

Kalhaṇa tells us that Uccala, due to his kindheartedness, allowed robbers *(dasyus)* to rise to high posts, in remembrance of their past services.[6] He is also said to have given them high

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.627.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.7.
[3] *Supra*, p. 168.
[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.7.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.458-59, 878, 1444, 1607, 2953.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.7.

posts in order to create mutual jealousies among them and to make them instrumental in breaking the power of the rest of their class. One of them named Janakacandra wished to obtain high position in the state and planned to put Bhikṣācara (King Harṣa's grandson) on the throne and himself to be the real ruler.[1] Uccala decided to put Janakacandra into the high post of the 'lord of the gate' *(dvārapati)* hoping thereby to turn other Ḍāmaras against him. Now we find the Ḍāmaras divided into two hostile camps fighting a series of engagements which ultimately led to the murder of Janakacandra.[2] Thus Uccala got rid of the more powerful of them by diplomacy, and also secured his own position by forcing those in Kramarājya (modern Kamrāz) to dismiss their mounted and other troops, while he impaled some of them.[3]

During the short reign of Salhaṇa, the half-brother of Sussala (A.D. 1111-12), one Ḍāmara Gargacandra obtained predominance.[4] He did not hesitate to destroy the Ḍāmaras of Nilāśva and Hālāha (Kashmir districts) by throwing them into the Vitastā and by poisoned food.[5] But when King Salhaṇa persuaded Garga to give his daughter in marriage to him, Gargacandra's followers did not approve of his alliance with a king who was like a ghost.[6] King Sussala (A.D. 1112-20) had to struggle against the rising power and ambition of Gargacandra. In the beginning, however, the king allied with Garga, not because he trusted him but because he needed his support. This struggle lasted from A.D. 1112 to 1118—practically the whole of the reign of Sussala, until Gargacandra along with his sons Kalyāṇacandra, Catuṣka and Videha was executed.[7] The king tried to punish Gargacandra's followers also.

Other Ḍāmaras who figure prominently in this reign are Vijaya, the brother-in-law of Gargacandra, and the former's

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.16-19.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.24. Cf. R. Sewell, *Vijayanagar "A forgotten Empire"*.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.39-42.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.370.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.425-26.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.440-41.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.615-16.

relatives named Bṛhaṭṭika and Sūkṣmaṭikka.[1] The Ḍāmaras of Devasarasa were beaten by the king and they also rose in revolt. Sūkṣmaṭikka, who escaped death, later became the cause of future rebellions.[2] Pṛthvīhara, a Ḍāmara from Śamālā,[3] who had been given the charge of guarding the routes,[4] became disaffected and, together with eighteen Ḍāmaras of Śamaṅgāsā, formed a league against the king.[5] In A.D. 1120 there was a strong rising of the Ḍāmaras in which Pṛthvīhara was victorious.[6] Mallakoṣṭha, another Ḍāmara of great strength, whom the king had raised to a high position against Gargacandra, also rose in rebellion and joined Bhikṣācara, the rival claimant to the throne.[7] The Ḍāmaras of Lahara, together with Bhikṣācara and the Ḍāmaras of Maḍavarājya, besieged Srinagar and occupied the bank of Mahāsarit.[8] Ultimately in A.D. 1120, King Sussala had to leave Srinagar and retire to Lohara.[9] Mallakoṣṭha then became the chief instructor of Bhikṣācara in all affairs,[10] but the jealousy between Pṛthvīhara and Mallakoṣṭha made his court full of dissensions.[11] Bhikṣācara's marriage with a lady from Pṛthvīhara's family enraged Mallakoṣṭha.[12] Tired of Bhikṣācara's reign Mallakoṣṭha and others sent messengers to King Sussala[13] to make fresh efforts towards its reconquest while Bhikṣācara[14] marched forth with Pṛthvīhara, ultimately left Kashmir and proceeded to the village of Puṣyāṇanāḍa.[15] It was the rivalry

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.522-25.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.525-29.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.591.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.627.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.650-61, 758, 780-81.
[6] *Ibid*, VIII.712, 758.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.601, 725.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.723, 733, 753.
[9] *Ibid.*, VIII.817.
[10] *Ibid.*, VIII.849.
[11] *Ibid.*, VIII.876.
[12] *Ibid.*, VIII.878.
[13] *Ibid.*, VIII.897.
[14] *Ibid.*, VIII.933, 936, 938, 956-57.
[15] *Ibid.*, VIII.599.

between these two Ḍāmara leaders, Mallakoṣṭha[1] and Pṛthvīhara,[2] which led to the split in the Ḍāmara hordes and the recall of Sussala from Lohara—Mallakoṣṭha being on the side of King Sussala, while Pṛthvīhara fought in support of Bhikṣācara. Short restoration of the first Lohara dynasty under Bhikṣācara witnessed internecine feuds owing to the jealousies of the Ḍāmaras, Pṛthvīhara and Mallakoṣṭha.[3]

King Sussala, on his restoration in A.D. 1128, won over all the Ḍāmaras to his side and appointed Malla, son of Vaṭṭa, to the charge of *kheri* and Harṣamitra, another Ḍāmara, to the command of the army *(kampana)*.[4] But once Sussala regained his position, Mallakoṣṭha was exiled from the country by the angry king.[5] The king had later to fight against the combined strength of Pṛthvīhara, Mallakoṣṭha and Bhikṣācara.[6] The attitude of King Sussala towards Mallakoṣṭha shows that there was no love lost between the two. Sussala had regained his throne with the help of Mallakoṣṭha but when it suited his purpose, he unscrupulously exiled him, and raised in his place the eldest surviving son of Garga, named Pañcacandra, who, though yet a boy under the guardianship of his mother Chuḍḍā, was gradually joined by his father's followers,[7] and acquired some reputation. In A.D. 1123, there was a fresh rebellion of the Ḍāmaras who wholly devoted themselves to the work of burning, looting and fighting.[8] Ultimately the king broke up the terrible Ḍāmaras by exceptional measures,[9] so much so that Bhikṣācara and the Lavanyas, having lost their strength, thought of going abroad from fear of their powerful foe. One of the followers of the Ḍāmara Tikka, named Utpala, ultimately became instrumental in the murder of King Sussala.[10]

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.897, 944.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.930, 933, 936, 938, 958, 1013.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.882ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.960.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.1041.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.1051-53, 1124-25.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.1121-22.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.1157.
[9] *Ibid.*, VIII.1267.
[10] *Ibid.*, VIII.1314.

King Jayasiṁha started his reign with the proclamation of general amnesty. Kalhaṇa describes picturesquely their entry into the city : "When the Ḍāmaras distinguished by their power proceeded to the city, it appeared as if bridegroom processions were taking place at a time when auspicious moments *(lagnas)* are easy to find."[1] When the people saw each one of them more splendid than the king, with his pack horses, parasols and steeds, they magnified the rough valour which King Sussala had shown in his firm resistance.[2] Kṣīra and other Ḍāmaras from Maḍavarājya whose hosts of soldiers were awe-inspiring, were also brought over to the king's side.[3] Jayasiṁha took those who were fit into his salaried service, thus increasing the number of those who belonged to the inner court.[4]

At this juncture one would feel that the conciliation of the Ḍāmaras was complete, while on the other hand Kalhaṇa's narrative shows that these Ḍāmaras, despite all this, turned to the king's enemies at the slightest possible chance. Bhikṣācara was still striving to regain the throne; Pañcacandra,[5] the eldest surviving son of Gargacandra, the Ḍāmara who had played a prominent part during the reign of Sussala, arrived with his soldiers by the side of the king who was destitute of troops. Even during this reign the Ḍāmaras of Khaḍūvī tried to kill the minister Sujji and actually killed Mahattama Ānanda, son of Ananta, while the Ḍāmaras of Holaḍā besieged the king's officers and laid siege to Avantipura. Jayasiṁha tried to bribe and win over the Ḍāmaras of Khaḍūvī district, while the Ḍāmaras intrigued with King Somapāla of Rājapurī, offering him the throne.

The circumstances of the times and the strong position of the Ḍāmaras necessitated a very diplomatic treatment on the part of the king. Kalhaṇa does not approve of any policy which might lead the Ḍāmaras to hostilities. So reckless had they become that they would seek the help of the Daradas and

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1535.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.1536.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.1539.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.1542.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.1587.

of Rājapurī and even offer the throne for this. The significant manner in which Kalhaṇa mentions the names of some of these Ḍāmaras along with the localities to which they belonged shows that by amassing wealth and power they had become local magnates in those areas, and it seems that only a few Ḍāmara families played a prominent role in the struggles during the reign of the second Lohara dynasty. Gargacandra,[1] who played the king-maker during the reigns of Salhaṇa and Jayasiṁha, was from Lahara. Later on Pṛthvīhara[2] of Śamālā and Mallakoṣṭha of Lahara rose to importance. Kalhaṇa also mentions Abhinava,[3] Vāga and Pāja of Śamālā,[4] Dhanva of Lahara,[5] Śobha of Degrāma,[6] Lakkanacandra[7] of the Dugdhaghāṭa, Bimba of Nīlāśva,[8] Loṣṭaka of Selyapura,[9] Maṅkha of Naunagara,[10] the Ḍāmaras of Khaḍūvī[11] and Hotadā,[12] those of Kramarājya,[13] Maḍavarājya,[14] Vijayeśvara[15] and so on.

We now take up the Rajput system into consideration.

According to Tod the Rajput "Martial System" and "traditional theory of government" bore striking analogies "to the ancient feudal system of Europe", with reference to a period when the latter was yet imperfect. He concluded that the Rajput system was so strikingly analogous to the European as to be truly feudal.[16] Critics of Tod have raised doubts whether, in Rajasthan, the basic relationship was actually that of lord

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.415ff., 588.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.591.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.159.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1022; VIII.591, 1517, 2749.
[5] *Ibid.*, V.51; VIII.38.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.263-66.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.1172-73.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII.1630-31; VIII.424, 2778, 3115.
[9] *Ibid.*, VIII.202.
[10] *Ibid.*, VIII.995.
[11] *Ibid.*, VIII.1413, 1477.
[12] *Ibid.*, VII.1228; VIII.733, 1430, 3115.
[13] *Ibid.*, VII.1240; VIII.40.
[14] *Ibid.*, VII.1240; VIII.41.
[15] *Ibid.*, VIII.1488.
[16] Tod, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 154.

and vassal. They have rather asserted that it was that of tribal chieftain and his blood kin. They base their view on the documents furnished by Tod in the appendix to his "Sketch of a Feudal System in Rajasthan."

The editor of the well-recognized edition of Tod's book, William Crooke, himself an outstanding authority on tribal organisation in Northern India, while criticizing Tod's analysis of the system in Rajasthan and his comparison of Rajput phenomena with those of medieval feudalism in Western Europe, writes : "While it is possible to trace, as Tod has done, certain analogies between the tribal institutions of the Rajputs and the social organisation of Medieval Europe—analogies of feudal incidents connected with Reliefs, Fines upon alienation, Escheats, Aids, Wardship and Marriage—these analogies, when more closely examined, are found to be in the main superficial."[1] His own suggestion was to seek comparison with the social organisation of more or less kindred tribes on the Indian borderland, Pathans, Afghans or Baloch; or, in a more primitive stage, those of the Kandhs, Gonds, Mundas or Oraons of the central highland of India.[2] He adds, "It is of little service to compare two systems of which only the nucleus is common to both and to place side by side institutions which present only a factitious similitude because the social development of each has progressed on different lines."

Alfred Lyall in his analysis of Rajputana saw the Rajput clans as a political and military overlay upon the cultivating classes, composed mainly of castes and clans whom the Rajputs subdued when they first took possession. Such a society, Lyall wrote, bore a resemblance to feudal society which was at first sight striking enough. It misled Tod into missing "the radical distinction between the two forms of society, tribal and feudal. Although he clearly understands the connection of those whom he calls 'vassals' with their suzerain to be the affinity of blood, still he insists that the working system of

[1] W. Crooke (ed.), *Annals of Rājasthān*, Intro., vol. I, p. XXXIX.
[2] *Ibid.*

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

Rajputana is feudal."[1] But in truth, declared Lyall, nowhere in Western Rajputana had the system become entirely feudal, i.e, nowhere had "military tenure entirely obliterated the original tenure by blood and birthright of the clan." "Land tenure in Rajputana," he wrote, "had not become the basis of the Rajput 'noblesse', rather their pure blood is the origin of their land tenure."[2] Prof. Kosambi also believes that their military hierarchy, with each man owing fealty to one acknowledged leader, goes back to their tribal and clan origin.[3] Referring to Tod's sympathetic treatment of Rajput tradition, he says : "The error is in thinking that the military hierarchy etc. sufficed to constitute feudalism."[4] Their complete political inconsequence, he adds, is also due to the persistence of a narrow tribal outlook. Their home territory in comparatively barren Rajasthan lay across the important trade-route to the South. The Rajputs, therefore, show us—in an undeveloped stage—the superficial elements that go to make feudalism, but not a supply of labour to cultivate extensive fields.

The verdicts of both Tod and Lyall are arbitrary in the main when they describe the system as purely tribal or feudal. Taking the words of Maine cited above that "the term feudalism has the defect of calling attention to one set only of its characteristic[5] incidents," we believe that it would be more appropriate to define the system in Rajaputana, as elsewhere in ancient and medieval India, as quasi-feudal.

Prof. Kosambi defines history as the 'presentation in chronological order, of successive developments in the means and relations of production.'[6] Accordingly, he divides feudalism

[1] *Asiatic Studies*, vol. I, p. 243.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 245, quoted in R. Coulborn, *Feudalism in History*, p. 142. The Princeton University Conference on Feudalism (Nov., 1950) accepted Mr. Horner's verdict on Tod's views as correct in the main. Essentially Mr. Horner is for Crooke's opinion that eighteenth century Rajputana was tribal, not feudal. (R. Coulborn, *op. cit.*, p. 218).

[3] D. D. Kosambi, *Introduction to the Study of History*, p. 340.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 371, note.

[5] *Supra*, p. 169.

[6] D. D. Kosambi, *Introduction to the Study of History*, p. 1.

in India into two distinct types—'feudalism from above' and 'feudalism from below.' By 'feudalism from above' he means "a state wherein an emperor or powerful king levied tribute from subordinates who still ruled in their own right and did what they liked within their own territories—as long as they paid the paramount ruler. These subordinate rulers might even be tribal chiefs, and seem in general to have ruled the land by direct administration, without the intermediacy of a class which was in effect a land-owning stratum." By 'feudalism from below' "is meant the next stage where a class of land-owners developed within the village, between the state and the peasantry, gradually to wield armed power over the local population. This class was subject to military service, hence claimed a direct relationship with the state power, without the intervention of any other stratum."[1] Kosambi classifies these two types according to the stages of historical development he has in view. He calls the first stage that of older indigenous 'feudalism from above' which had failed to develop new techniques.[2] After the period of the 'feudalism from above', came the next stage of India's historical development, 'feudalism from below', which emerged in the later centuries of Hindu period, and lasted throughout the period of Muslim domination down to the coming of the British. In India, the new class of petty land-holding barons grew in importance, as the merchant class declined and the new class of small chiefs still further encouraged the settlement of fresh villages. This new phase began under the Hindu ruler with the development of Rajput feudalism, the growth of Ḍāmaras in Kashmir, and the frequent grants of land to non-Brahmin recipients who acquired a status comparable to that of the feudal baron.

Regarding Kashmir, Prof. Kosambi has in view the system of *sāmantas* and Ḍāmaras and one can easily be led to believe that in the category of 'feudalism from above' fall the adjoining princes and the feudatories *(sāmantas)* of the kings of Kashmir who served their respective paramount lords when-

[1] D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, p. 275.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 328.

ever the latter went on their expeditions, and that 'feudalism from below' is actually represented by the rise of Ḍāmaras who wielded armed power and are seen struggling for direct relationship with state power, and who actually got a sort of recognition in the end. On minute observation we find that the system does not neatly fit in to the classification given by Kosambi. We find the *sāmantas* and the Ḍāmaras existing side by side, and later we have the growth of a further class, the Lavanyas, as a feudal aristocracy, who are mentioned with the Ḍāmaras. But this does not show that the development was by stages and that the 'feudalism from above', the system of *sāmantas* if we take it as such, was extinct before the Ḍāmaras rose to power.

Let us consider Prof. Kosambi's analysis of the system as it existed in Kashmir.

"Feudalism in India was so often a concomitant of Muslim rule that underlying causes are completely forgotten under the religious upheaval, or attributed to foreign domination. Kaśmīr being a valley isolated from serious foreign intervention till long after feudalism had conquered, shows us that the change cannot be imputed either to theology or to the Mohammedan conquest. The natural course of events may be seen undisguised . . ."[1] Here, Prof. Kosambi is quite right in his surmise. We have seen the various elements of a feudal system existing in Kashmir since early times. We have the feudal chiefs *(sāmantas)*, the landed aristocracy (Ḍāmaras), Brahmin feudal chiefs *(brāhmaṇa sāmantas)* and, in one instance, a non-Brahmin holder of *agrahāra* grant. Prof. Kosambi attributes this development towards feudalism to "the need to import trade goods, especially salt and metals, difficult transport, lowering of grain prices with great increase in village settlements due to extensive water-works," which meant "concentration of wealth in a few hands for each small group of villages." "In India", he adds, "there arose a class of armed barons who expropriated the surplus for trade; in Kaśmīr, the man who had the surplus acquired more wealth by trade, took to arms, turned into a Ḍāmara. The caste system was never strong enough in Kaśmīr to prevent such direct change of

[1] D. D. Kosambi, *Origins of Feudalism in Kaśmīr*, p. 2.

class whenever economic advantage permitted. For that matter it could not prevent this in India, but a formal change of caste had to be effected, which took far more time, and was not possible for individuals without great difficulty."[1]

We must bear in mind that though the Ḍāmaras in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* formed a class by themselves, we have quite a peculiar social system in Medieval Kashmir. The *krām* names are little more than nicknames which were given to specific groups of people on the basis of certain special characteristics, and though they are now connected with the caste system, this was not the case in earlier times. When Kalhaṇa speaks of a householder becoming rich and attaining the position of a Ḍāmara, we believe him to mean that this appellation was used for these people as a nickname to show their status, and not that it implied a change of caste. We have already stated that the Ḍāmaras were not the feudal barons but they were the landed aristocracy who had attained their status by acquisition of wealth and not by the king's grants of *jāgīrs* or the condition of service tenure.

Next question is : how did other people acquire the status of Ḍāmaras ? There is a verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which runs as follows :

Tanayo nayanākhyasya kalyaḥ selyapuraukasaḥ /
kuṭumbino jayyakākhyaḥ kramāḍḍāmaratāmagāt //

[Jayyaka, who was the clever son of a house-holder at Selyapur, called Nayana, had gradually attained the position of a Ḍāmara.][2]

What Kalhaṇa apparently means to imply in the above verse is that the acquisition of wealth is necessary to attain the position of a Ḍāmara. The people who held the position of Ḍāmaras must evidently have been quite rich and here we have the case of a house-holder who had become as rich as a Ḍāmara would ordinarily be. The points we take up in the above reference are :

(i) The term Ḍāmara signifies a status. (ii) That people

[1] D. D. Kosambi, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Rājat.*, VII. 494.

who held that status were very rich. (iii) Jayyaka acquired that status by acquisition of money. (iv) The means for amassing this money were the produce of his land and the selling of victuals in various lands.[1]

The verse does not necessarily imply that Jayyaka really became a Ḍāmara or changed his class and joined that of the Ḍāmaras. Moreover, it does not necessarily mean that the wealthy Ḍāmaras had cornered the trade of Kashmir—especially the saffron. We maintain this in view of several references in Kṣemendra's works to the existence of rich merchants, especially those trading in saffron,[2] but he nowhere mentions that these merchants were Ḍāmaras. In the *Samayamāṭṛkā* Kṣemendra admittedly mentions a rich Ḍāmara named Samarasiṁha, showing that they existed as a rich class of society in Medieval Kashmir but Samarasiṁha is nowhere mentioned as a merchant.[3] While this author talks much of social evils such as the rapaciousness of the officers (Kāyasthas) and writers *(diviras)* who defrauded and carried away the riches of the country, to the loss of both the king and the public, it is curious that he does not refer to Ḍāmaras as such.

Further it is stated that "the *agrahāra* grants made to Brahmins did not prevent the rise of private (feudal) ownership of land, but rather served in the trading environment, as model of the later *jāgīr*, whereas land in India proper continued to belong to the state till a later period."[4] Though we have evidence of the existence of private property in land in Kashmir, we have a reference in the *Samayamāṭṛkā* of Kṣemendra to the effect that a certain widow, when her husband died, attained the right to his property by the king's decree. Though the succession was hereditary and the right of woman to the property of her dead husband was recognised, she had to seek royal sanction before inheriting her husband's estate.[5]

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.495 : *Sthalotpattiḥ sa digdeśavikrītānno vaṇijyayā /*
saṁbhṛtārthaḥ śanairlubdho dhaneśaspardhitāṁ dadhe //

[2] *Sam. Māt.*, II. 8.

[3] *Ibid.*, II. 21f.

[4] D. D. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[5] *Sam. Māt.* II.36ff.

As we have seen, according to Prof. Kosambi the Ḍāmaras formed the equivalent of feudal barons far more than the *sāmantas* who were barons created by the court as counterpoise to the Ḍāmaras, as perhaps were the titulary Ṭhakkars.[1] He further states : "There is no possibility of these people being a separate caste or tribal chiefs surviving from ancient times, or army captains settled on the land to become local counts. The name has no tribal meaning like that of the Khaśas, does not survive as a *krām* today, though many of them in the eastern Maḍavarājya portion of the Valley were recruited from the Lavanya group (7,1229)."[2]

We have elsewhere dealt with the tribal significance of the term Ḍāmara.[3] Prof. Kosambi is definitely not correct when he says that the name does not survive as a *krām* today. The *krām ḍār* exists up to the present day as one of the leading *krāms* in Kashmir and, out of the main *krāms*, the *ḍār* family has probably been the most influential, though proverbs suggest that their influence has not been beneficial. One of these proverbs runs : *ḍār na baiyad guzāsht be zangir*--the *ḍārs* like doors should be locked up.[4] In the Census Report of 1891, the *ḍārs* were included among the Brahmin castes of Kashmir, who by change of religion had adopted agriculture. As such their number was stated to be 68,949—the largest among the whole group.[5] The term Brahmin seems to be based on the popular belief that prior to their conversion to Islam, most of the population of the Valley were Brahmins. As regards castes, the *ḍārs* form a sub-caste of the *vains*, the original Muhammedans of Srinagar city, considered also the purest and of the best descent. The *vains* in turn are one of the castes of the *sheikhs*—the convert class of Kashmir Muhammedans, as distinguished

[1] D. D. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 8. Ṭhakkars are the chief cultivating caste in the hills. Cf. Drew, F., *Jummoo*, p. 27.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See *infra*, Appedix V.

[4] Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 188, note 3; p. 304, note 2.

[5] *Census of India*, vol. XXVIII, 1891, p. 125. There are, however, *ḍārs* among the Kashmiri Brahmins.

from the Sayads, the Mughals and the Pathans.[1]

The Census Report of 1921 states: "In both the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the Nilaporana *(sic)* we find the names of several sects, namely Malechhas *(sic)*, Nishadas, Damaras *(sic)*, Tantris and Nyayaks, who constantly gave trouble not only to the rulers of the country but also to the Brāhmaṇas. They pursued agriculture, military service and other professions. The sub-castes of Tantri, Nyayak and *ḍār* (abbreviation of Ḍāmara) survive among the agricultural population even to this day."[2] Though we cannot take these groups as sects, we believe with the authors of the Report that the Ḍāmaras survive among the agricultural population today under the appellation of *ḍār*. If there should be any doubt as to the relationship of the modern *ḍār* and the medieval Ḍāmara, we may draw attention to the later chronicle of Śrīvara. Here we find reference to a minister whose name ends in *ḍāra*—Phīryyaḍāra.[3] The name of the same person occurs as Phiryyaḍāmara in other verses.[4] Moreover, in the above quoted reference to the *krām ḍār*, we have a clear evidence of their significant and strong position which was not liked by the rest of the public—reminiscent of their position in the past.[5]

As regards Kashmiri Muslims, the Census Report of 1931 states : "The most important sub-castes from the statistical point of view are the Bat, the Dar, the Ganai, the Khan, the Lon, the Malik, the Mir, the Pare, the Rather, Shah, Sheikh and Wain. They are mostly found in the Kashmir province and Udhampur district of the Jammu Province."[6]

Out of the above list, we are concerned here with the Ḍars and the Lons—present-day survivals of the ancient Ḍāmara and Lavanya. Having dealt with the Ḍāmaras, we now take up the term Lavanya, which first occurs as late as in the VIIth book of

[1] *Census of India*, 1891, vol. XXVIII, p. 140.

[2] *Ibid*, 1921, vol. XXII. *Kashmir*, part I, p. 154.

[3] Śrīvara, *Iaina Rājat.*, Bk.II, verse 72.

[4] *Ibid.*, Book III, verses 28, 69.

[5] *Supra*, p. 127

[6] *Census of India*, 1931. vol. XXIV, *Jammu and Kashmir State*, part I, Report, p. 316.

the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and is used indiscriminately with Ḍāmaras.[1] Who were these Lavanyas ? Why are they referred to so late ? These are the questions that strike one forcibly. We have elsewhere dealt with the term Lavanya as meaning 'an agriculturist', from √*lu*, 'to cut', and the rise to power of this class as agriculturists.[2] The term Ḍāmara was later applied to all those agriculturists who became powerful and obnoxious. As pointed out by Stein, the *krām* or tribal name Lon survives[3] to this day as a name for those people who were known as Lavanya in Medieval Kashmir. In the Census Report of 1891, the Lons are mentioned as a sub-division of the Rajput agriculturist class of Muhammedans in Kashmir. They are also catalogued as one of the castes which are found generally in several provinces.[4] On the basis of his examination of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Stein had also confirmed that the Lons "were never confined to particular divisions, but spread over the whole valley."[5] It is very interesting to note that the Lons of the present day and not the Dārs are considered as a sub-division of the Rajput class. Stein had also noted that many of the Ḍāmaras in the eastern Maḍavarājya portion of the Valley were recruited from the Lavanya group.[6] This suggests that the Lavanyas, though often termed as Ḍāmaras, belonged to a distinct stock, whereas the term Ḍāmaras in general had lost its ethnic significance.

Here we repeat Lalitāditya's testament to his successors : "Those who wish to be powerful in this land must always guard against internal dissensions. . .those who dwell there in the (mountains) difficult of access, should be punished, even if they give no offence; because sheltered by their fastnesses, they are difficult to break up if they (once) accumulated wealth. Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for (the tillage of) their fields.

[1] *Rājat.*, VII. 1228-29, 1236-37.

[2] *Infra.*, Appendix V.

[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, Vol. II, p. 430. Vide also V.248, note; VII.1171, note.

[4] *Census of India*, 1891, vol. XXVIII, *The Kashmir State*, p. 127.

[5] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 430.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

Because, if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Ḍāmaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king. When once the villagers obtain clothes, women, woollen blankets, food, ornaments, horses, houses, such as are fit for the town; when the kings in their madness neglect the strong places which ought to be guarded; when their servants show want of discrimination; when the upkeep of troops is raised from a single district; when the officials are closely drawn together by bonds of intermarriage; when the kings look into their own affairs as if they were clerks (Kāyastha)—then a change for the worse in the subjects' fortune may be known for certain."[1]

About this testament of state policy recorded by Kalhaṇa, Stein wrote : "From the reference made here, we can see clearly that Kalhaṇa, in making Lalitāditya set forth these principles of Kashmir policy, is thinking in reality of his own times."[2] Kalhaṇa is no doubt putting the king's speech in his own words, but it appears that there must have existed some running tradition or some other record of this sort about this great king. The statement, however, gives us a clear picture of the whole process of the development of the power of the Ḍāmaras. They are hinted at as hilly people sheltered by their fastnesses. Their strength lies in their wealth and in their strong position from the military point of view. Kalhaṇa also shows the imminent danger of the rise of the agricultural class who become Ḍāmaras by the surplus revenue of their lands and accumulated wealth. As regards the contents of this testament, Stein is correct in stating that "Kalhaṇa makes Lalitāditya, before his disappearance from the scene, foretell in a kind of political testament the events of the immediately succeeding reigns."[3]

Professor Kosambi claims that saffron "enabled Kaśmīr to import salt, some metal, cloth and other goods. It made also for an accumulation of wealth which sometimes led to external military adventures on the part of ambitious Kaśmīrian

[1] *Rājat.*, V. 349-52.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, IV. 345-52, note.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 93.

kings or foreign attempts at invasion. Whenever the state was strong enough saffron remained a state monopoly."[1] It is true that this commodity was very light and must have brought much wealth to Kashmir, but it is surely going too far to say that it was with the wealth accumulated through saffron alone that kings were able to lead external military adventures. If this was so, we should have had some mention of saffron and its importance to the finances of the state in Lalitāditya's testament on state policy. He refers to the agricultural villagers and the surplus of their fields in general. Saffron is not referred to at all as such. Moreover, if it was the basis of the whole trade and military power of Kashmir kings, it should not have been difficult for them to control the growth of this commodity and to guard closely the saffron cultivation area. We have definite evidence in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and in Indian sources to the fact that the use of saffron in Kashmir was a kingly prerogative.[2]

Professor Kosambi has again stated "without the crocus or some equivalent commodity, the internal history of Kaśmīr would have been far less turbulent, as may be seen by comparison with the small neighbouring Himalayan valley Cambā, which shows relatively uneventful continuity of succession in the same dynasty, with people still worshipping images dedicated about 700 A.D. in temples standing over a thousand years. It is known that saffron does not grow elsewhere in the Indian subcontinent, but its role in the means and relations of production for Kaśmīr has escaped our historians."[3]

To draw a comparison between Cambā (Campā) and the Kashmir kingdom is going too far, because in the first instance, though richest in epigraphical remains, the hill state of Cambā is not of so great an antiquity and historical importance as Kashmir, Kangra (Trigarta) and Kulu (Kulūta). The state itself is said to have been founded about A.D. 550,[4] and the first men-

[1] D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, p. 336; Watters, T. *Travels*, vol. I, p. 261.

[2] *Rājat.*, VI. 120; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII. 1897, note.

[3] D. D. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

[4] Hutchison & Vogel, *HPHS*, vol. I, p. 13.

tion we find of this kingdom is in the reign of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63), who invaded it in A.D. 1040. Moreover, the Cambā inscriptions and *vaṁśāvalis*, though unique in India for their comprehensiveness, are different in nature from the *Rājatar-aṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. The oldest traditions in the hills refer to a time when petty chiefs, bearing the title of Rānā or Thākur, exercised authority, either as independent rulers or under the suzerainty of a paramount power. About these western Himalayan states Hutchison and Vogel correctly write: "In considering the political organisation of the hills, at that early period, we must dismiss from our minds all ideas of fully-organised principalities, and think of an order of things that was patriarchal rather than monarchical, and very akin to the clan system of the highlands of Scotland, down to the eighteenth century."[1] In Cambā state alone there must have been more than 100 petty chiefs in ancient times, known as Rānās or Rājānakas.[2] Moreover, Cambā did not enjoy a geographical position which would lead to the development of a large state, as was the case with Kashmir.

As for the Kashmir monopoly of saffron, we must point to the case of Kishtwar (ancient Kāṣṭhavāṭa), a valley lying in the south-east of Kashmir, forming a part of Doda district of the Jammu Province, where saffron of very good quality is cultivated.[3] Kalhaṇa also mentions it as a separate hill state, in the time of King Kalaśa.[4] This little state never rose to a position of importance, despite its production of saffron.

In order to understand the whole struggle between the kings and the Ḍāmaras, we have to go back to dynasties which preceded the Loharas. The Kārkoṭas were renowned for their conquests and glory but they were followed by weak and imbecile rulers of the Utpala dynasty (A.D. 853-939). The next dynasty of Vīradeva ruled only for ten years (A.D. 939 to 949) and was followed by that of Abhinava, a *divira*. It was with the

[1] Hutchison & Vogel, *HPHS*, vol. I, p. 12.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[3] Author's personal knowledge.
[4] *Rājat.*, VIII. 590; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VIII.590, note.

marriage of Diddā—the daughter of Siṁharāja of Lohara—with Kṣemagupta, the last king of this dynasty, that the relationship of Kashmir with Lohara started. When her son and all the grandsons died, Diddā brought her nephew Saṁgrāmarāja from Lohara and nominated him as her successor. It was in the reign of Ananta, the second king of the Lohara dynasty of Kashmir, that we have a reference to the coming to Kashmir of Kṣitirāja, the cousin of King Ananta, when the former was troubled by the evil behaviour of his son Bhuvanarāja, and Ananta sent his second grandson Utkarṣa, though he was a small child, to rule over Lohara under the guardianship of Tanvaṅgarāja, who was his cousin from Jassarāja, another cousin of his father. On this arrangement Kalhaṇa remarks : "Up to that (time) the members of the royal family had enjoyed all possessions in common, and their relationship was not stained by treachery."[1] The Lohara kings of the first dynasty belonged to the branch of Udayarāja. Saṁgrāmarāja, the first king of this dynasty, and Vigraharāja of Lohara were both his sons and with this arrangement when the actual line and strength of Lohara got united with that of Kashmir, under the guardianship of Tanvaṅga of Kāntirāja's family, another brother of Diddā, the struggle was natural. With this background the struggle amongst the kings of the two rival Lohara dynasties and their respective supporters commenced.

When tired of the evil conduct of King Kalaśa, King Ananta and his wife Sūryamati went to stay in Vijayeśvara, the princes who were the sons of Tanvaṅgarāja, Guṅga and other relatives, followed Ananta. One of these princes named Thakkana of Jassarāja's family was present at the time of Ananta's suicide.[2] Sūryavarmacandra and other Ḍāmaras also went to Vijayeśvara along with *rājaputras*, horsemen and soldiers, and took up their quarters near the old King Ananta.[3] During the reign of this king when Queen Sūryamatī held the affairs in her own hands and was troubled by the insolence of some of

[1] *Rājat.*, VII. 262.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII. 354, 447.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII. 360.

the Ḍāmaras, she made Jindurāja, an arrogant man, her minister and had Śobha, the Ḍāmara of Degrāma, executed.[1] Thus we find that though the earlier kings had occasional troubles from individual Ḍāmaras, there was never an organised rising of them all together until the time of King Harṣa.

The reign of Kalaśa, the next king (A.D. 1063-89), is marked by the weakness and licentiousness of the king and the evil influence of the four arrogant princes *(rājaputras)* from the Śāhi family—Bijja, Pitharāja, Pāja and another. During the reign of this king the Ḍāmaras are mentioned as causing troubles and being temporarily crushed by the successive commanders-in-chief. Their power became stronger during the reign of King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) and during this reign we have the first mention of Lavanyas, who took sides with the rival claimants to the throne. Even earlier, whenever there was some struggle for the throne, we find the Ḍāmaras in importance.[2] So it was the rivalry between the two houses of the Loharas, the one on the throne and the other that of Malla, whose descendants later became kings of the second Lohara dynasty, which gave to the Ḍāmaras an opportunity of fighting the ruling dynasty. The history of Kashmir and the position of the Ḍāmaras therein might have had a different course altogether if there had not been a rival dynasty, whose members were strong and resolute enough to cause the downfall of the other.

Another very interesting surmise made by Professor Kosambi is that "the conflict between king and Ḍāmara, feudal baron and central power, led ultimately to a Kaśmīrian Hindu king plundering temple property and melting down the images for profit without change of religion or theological excuses, simply to maintain the army and a costly state apparatus. Because this could not continue for ever, we have the ultimate victory of feudalism, and weakening of the central

[1] *Rājat.*, VII, 266. Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.266, note. Degrāma is the modern hamlet of Degāma situated about one and a half miles to the west of Śupiyan.

[2] From here Kalhaṇa starts using the terms Lavanya and Ḍāmara indiscriminately. We should remember that he was writing for his own time and hence did not feel any necessity to explain his reason.

power."[1]

Before analysing what Professor Kosambi has said about the temple looting and confiscation of property, we have to take into account some of the most important remarks made by Kalhaṇa, which indicate definite landmarks in the history of Medieval Kashmir. For instance, he records the beginning of a new epoch when he refers to the advice given by the Kāyastha officials to King Jayāpīḍa (eighth century) to give up schemes of foreign conquest and to acquire wealth from his own country.[2] Let us here point out incidentally that none of the wars fought by the Kārkoṭa kings (*c.* A.D. 600-855) were waged for the accumulation of wealth to be used in the struggle against feudal barons. Professor Kosambi has himself stated that even under Jayāpīḍa measures had been taken for the expropriation of wealth.[3] At this stage we have no mention of any definite struggle between the Ḍāmaras and the central government. Śaṁkaravarman's (A.D. 883-902) fiscal necessities led to this king's confiscation of *agrahāra* grants and even of the property of temples and ordinary householders.[4] The confiscations show the king's ultimate ownership of the land. It is suggested that the resumption of villages against compensatory assignment *(pratikāra)* indicated recognition of property rights in land.[5] The confiscation of lands and looting of the temple property were not laudable actions on the part of the king and, as we have seen, even while plundering the temples he appointed special officers under the pretext of exercising supervision.[6] He reduced the weights in the scales by one-third, and still made out that he gave more to the temple corporation than the due annual allowance.[7] As a Hindu king, he kept an outward show of maintaining the religious orders though he actually plundered them in all possible ways. The oppression of the Brahmins

[1] D. D. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
[2] *Rājat.*, IV. 631-33, 638-39.
[3] D. D. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[4] *Supra*, p. 142.
[5] D. D. Kosambi, *loc. cit.*
[6] *Rājat.*, V. 169.
[7] *Ibid.*, V. 171.

and temple *purohitas* must necessarily have been preceded by that of the other agricultural classes, and Kalhaṇa records that by levying contributions for the monthly pay of the *skandakas* and village clerks *(grāmakāyasthas)*, and by various other imposts, he drove the villagers into poverty.[1] It seems evident that in resuming land grants to temples, the king gave some token compensation in order not to antagonize public opinion further, and as a sop to the *brāhmaṇic* clergy. The sin of confiscating land granted to religious bodies was thought to be so great that Śaṁkaravarman may well have hesitated to do without some token compensation. Thus this gives no real evidence of full property rights in land.

The logical culmination of the confiscatory schemes came under Harṣa who fought, but ultimately lost, a war of extermination against the Ḍāmaras.[2] In order to understand the real basis of the struggle we have to bear in mind the picture of the whole society at that time and understand clearly every aspect of this unique reign in the history of Medieval Kashmir. Harṣa's rule marks the culmination of the magnificence of the court with the introduction of southern fashions but we have here also to take into account the economic resources of the country which could not cope with such far-fetched schemes. Another very important factor which we have to consider is the total effect of his policy on the various sections of the society of his time. Here we recall Kalhaṇa's résumé at the very outset of this king's reign, where he is all praise for this king's majesty and magnificence but still has to record his failures.[3] Moreover, here we do not only look to the impressions and views of a mere poet historian but to a survey of the whole situation as must have been made for him by the 'lord of the gate', the illustrious lord Campaka—Kalhaṇa's father.

As for Harṣa's magnificence and favours, we have to ask who were those people upon whom they were bestowed. Kalhaṇa says : "In the king's palace, councillors, chamberlains

[1] *Rājat.*, V. 175.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 143-44.
[3] *Supra*, p. 54.

and other attendants, moved about adorned with golden chains and bracelets." No body in his court was seen without brilliant dresses, without golden ornaments, with a small following, or without a resolute bearing."[1] Harṣa is also said to have profusely provided the Brahmins with gifts of black antelopes, skins and cows with calves.[2] In this reference we see that magnificence was limited to the court and favourites who did not constitute a large section of the society and next to the gifts and immunities to the ministers, there came those to Brahmins and other pious foundations. Nothing is said to have been done for the masses of the Ḍāmaras. In the meanwhile there arose troubles with the adjoining hill state of Rājapurī. The magnificence of the court also led to mutual jealousies, court intrigues and even plans to kill the king. Disaffection at the court, need for money to keep up its magnificence, foreign expeditions and the advice of evil councillors were quite sufficient reasons for turning the king's head and he started his evil deeds. The first great confiscation started with the wealth of the temples. As already noted this had been practised in Kashmir before Harṣa's time.[3] Not satisfied with the wealth confiscated from the temples he endeavoured to secure more by oppressing the householders. Harṣa's magnificence also turned to licentiousness and utter immorality followed by a natural calamity—a famine—in A.D. 1099. Economic crisis ensued, followed by the persecution of the Ḍāmaras.

While the courtiers had been encouraged to partake of the magnificence of the court, Harṣa started killing the Ḍāmaras, and in Maḍavarājya (modern Marāz) did not leave even a Brahmin alive if he wore his hair dressed high and was of prominent appearance. It was after the extermination of the Ḍāmaras in Maḍavarājya (Marāz) that those of Kramarājya (Kamrāz), desperate over the imminent danger to their very existence, rose in rebellion. It was in such circumstances that Uccala and Sussala laid plans to seize the throne of Kashmir

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.881-83.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII.955.
[3] *Supra*, p. 142.

(A.D. 1100) which were implemented by the ready help of the oppressed Ḍāmaras at home and by Rājapurī and Kāliñjara abroad.[1]

We conclude that it was not the conflict between the king and the Ḍāmaras which led to Harṣa's plunder of temple property and the melting down of the images for profit, but the magnificence of the court, the introduction of the new expensive fashions, the use of gold and silver for new coins in addition to all the necessary state expense which ultimately led to confiscatory sehemes and brought about the struggle between the king and the Ḍāmaras. Moreover, the Ḍāmaras were oppressed and killed at a time of famine. They had not shared the magnificence of the court and yet they had to bear the brunt of Harṣa's extravagance. We get an idea of this when Kalhaṇa states that even during the time of his father, Harṣa sometimes could not even afford his daily meals; so great was the extent of his gifts. Thus we are prepared to accept Prof. Kosambi's broad outline of the development of feudalism in Kashmir but we disagree with some of his analyses especially that which claims that the mode of production was the sole cause of the development of the power of the Ḍāmaras in Kashmir.

There is no phase in Kashmir history when purely one type of feudalism or the other can be said to have existed. We find the *sāmantas*, the Brahmin feudatories, and the Ḍāmaras existing together in Kashmir since early days.[2] As we have stated above, the first mention of the word *sāmanta* occurs at the time of Mātṛgupta's arrival in Kashmir to rule over this kingdom as the nominee of the king of Ujjaini.[3] The first reference to the Ḍāmaras is found in the reign of King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.[4] The *sāmantas* were there already and the reference to the hill people whom Lalitāditya feared shows that they existed long before this king. Kalhaṇa is, however, thinking of the great power of the Ḍāmaras of his own time but the reference

[1] *Supra*, p. 51.
[2] *Supra*, p. 172.
[3] *Supra*, p. 175.
[4] *Supra*, p. 200.

gives us a clue to the genesis of the whole system. We have seen that the earlier books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* are confused and that authentic records start from the time of Kārkoṭas with whom the Kashmirian tradition connected every thing of importance, as in the case of the plantation of saffron.[1] The fact is that we can safely take things attributed to Lalitāditya, to have existed long before him.

We should also remember that the scholars of the eighteenth century, looking at certain peculiar institutions which had survived to their own day from the period when these institutions had originated and flourished, invented the term 'feudalism' to sum up a long series of loosely related facts.[2] Moreover, Ganshoff in his study of feudalism in France, Germany, the kingdom of Burgundy-Arles, Italy—which had grown out of the ruins of the Frankish monarchy—has pointed out that in the Norman kingdom of Sicily into which these were finally absorbed, the feudal institutions imported from France had to be imposed on a social and political system of extreme complexity. A central government of unusual strength succeeded in formulating a remarkably coherent system of feudal relationships, in which the rights and prerogatives of the lord and in particular those of the head of the state, were strongly emphasized. "Such a development", he wrote, "cannot be regarded as in any way characteristic of Western feudalism as a whole."[3] "Historians have found feudalism in ninth century France, twelfth century England, fourteenth century Germany; they have written of feudal survivals or revivals on the continent at the end of the old Regime."[4] The Indian historians have also used the term feudalism in a similar vein. This is also true of the developments in early Medieval Kashmir where we have feudal elements as described above along with its widely spread bureaucracy and the attempts of the rulers from time to time to put it in order. Joshua Prawer and S. N. Eisenstadt's views on feudalism also

[1] *Infra*, Chapter Five.
[2] Coulborn, R., *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[3] Ganshoff, *Feudalism*, pp. 59-60.
[4] Coulborn, R., *loc. cit.*

fit in very correctly with the features of feudalism in Medieval Kashmir when they write, "It is possible to speak about feudal institutions without implying that all aspects of economic, social, and political life predominant in the greater part of the European Middle Ages were always present. Such institutions can also be found in other societies; sometimes they evolve from similar conditions but often they are isolated phenomena in different frameworks or without the inter-relations deemed essential in the European system. (In these cases the term "feudal tendencies" might be a better description)."[1]

[1] *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, ed. David L. Sills, 1968, vol. V, p. 393.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIETY

In India it is usual to conceive of society as divided into four sections—Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also refers to the kings as the producers of the happiness of the castes *(varṇa)*.[1] It is evident that the four divisions of society in accordance with the injunctions of the Hindu Śāstras were maintained theoretically, though there does not appear to have existed any strict adherence to this fourfold classification in practice. Nor is there any reference to the old spirit of caste segregation. We find much mention of the Brahmin class in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The kings are referred to as Kṣatriyas,[2] while we get a few references to Vaiśyas and Śūdras.[3] The lowest order is that of Caṇḍālas.

On the caste system in Kashmir Dr. S. C. Ray states, "though the conception of the population as consisting of four traditional castes was not altogether unknown, there was no such caste as Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra in early Kashmir. In other parts of India there were various intermediary castes between the Brāhmaṇas on the one hand and the lower castes on the other. Curiously enough, so far as we can ascertain, such intermediate castes did never exist in the valley."[4] As we have already referred to the existence of the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes as mentioned by Kalhaṇa, and as the kings of the Lohara dynasties are said to have belonged to the Kṣatriya caste, we believe that, though the fourfold division is not much referred to by Kalhaṇa, this is not due to any other reason than the very nature of the narrative, for Kalhaṇa was not writing as a

[1] Cf. *Rājat.*, II.13; III.85; IV.111; *Viṣṇu.*, ch. II, vs. 1-2; *Manu.*, ch. X, v. 4; *Vasiṣ.*, ch. II, vs. 1-2; ch. IV, vs. 1-3.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.661-63.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.207 (Vaiśya); V.77 (Śūdra).

[4] Ray, S. C., *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 86.

theorist that he should pause to explain every aspect of a social order which was thoroughly well known to his readers, and Kalhaṇa's reference to them clearly establishes that there was definite recognition of the four orders, together with classes below the Śūdras such as the Caṇḍālas and the Ḍombas, who were the lowest in the social order. In addition to the fourfold division, Kalhaṇa also once refers to the sixty-four intermediary castes when he tells us that during the reign of King Jayasiṁha (A. D. 1128-49) one of this king's pious ministers, Rilhaṇa, excited astonishment by treating the sixty-four castes to excellent food at a sacrificial feast.[1]

Manu eulogises the Brāhmaṇa *varṇa* as the supreme creation of God.[2] Kalhaṇa and Kṣemendra hold the Brahmins in great esteem, especially those who practise austerities through which they gain the power of reversing the fortunes of even the great rulers.[3] Such is their power that once the royal fortune is lost through disrespect shown to the Brahmins it never returns.[4] Kalhaṇa tells us that when the legendary King Dāmodara II did not give the haughty Brahmins food before he had taken the bath of *śrāddha* they turned him into a snake by their curses. He refers to them as gods on earth *(bhūdeva)*, possessed of the spiritual power by which they could bring the forces of nature under their control.[5] On the other hand, by showing kindness and giving gifts to a Brahmin, King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa acquired the power of producing streams of water at his mere wish in the desert tracts.[6] In order to secure royal dignity

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.2407. In this reference Kalhaṇa employs the term *varṇa* to imply a caste as distinct from the four great classes. This is a very unusual use of the term. Kṣemendra also in his *Lokaprakāśa* uses the term *varṇa* for sixty-four castes. (*Lokaprakāśa*, p. 1; cf. *Kullūka on Manu.*, X.31.) The period of A. D. 1128-49 refers to Kalhaṇa's account of Jayasiṁha's reign.

[2] *Manu.*, ch. I, vs. 92-96.

[3] *Rājat.*, I.160; IV.122; V.114-15.

[4] *Ibid.*, I.161-65; IV.642.

[5] *Ibid.*, I.162; VIII.2238. *Śrāddha* is a ceremony connected with Hindu ancestor . . . worship; cf. *Manu.*, ch. III, vs. 267-71; Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. I, pp. 338-39; Crooke, *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, vol. I, p. 453.

[6] *Rājat.*, IV.228-33.

for his future births, Yaśaskara bestowed the royal insignia upon a Brahmin.[1] Kalhaṇa mentions some of the Kashmir kings, however, who, knowing fully well that the Brahmins through their spells caused the power of the gods to be present, meted out punishment to them nevertheless. One such king was Tārāpīḍa.[2] King Jayāpīḍa confiscated their *agrahāras* and oppressed them so that many of them emigrated and not less than one hundred Brahmins died daily from his oppression.[3] In the beginning even King Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48), though the throne had been bestowed on him by the Brahmins, did not allow them to approach him for fear of their becoming arrogant.[4]

Kalhaṇa sets forth lofty ideals for the Brahmins to follow. The Kashmir kings are frequently mentioned as granting lands *(agrahāras)* to them.[5] But the evil King Mihirakula is said to have granted such *agrahāras* to Brahmins from Gandhāra who resembled him in their habits and were the lowest of the twice-born.[6] Kalhaṇa does not approve of those Brahmins who accepted *agrahāras* and other gifts from heretical or wicked kings like Cakravarman and Unmattāvantī.[7]

In accordance with the doctrine of *Manusmṛti* the use of garlic is prohibited for the Brahmins. The legendary King Gopāditya is said to have removed those who ate garlic to Bhūkṣīravāṭikā (modern Buch'vār) and transferred those Brahmins who had broken their rules of conduct to Khāsaṭā (somewhere in the immediate vicinity of Srinagar but not precisely identified).[8] Our historian does not censure the king for doing this because the Brahmins are worthy of respect only if they act according to the standards of conduct expected of them.

[1] *Rājat.*, VI.85.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV.122.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV.631-33, 638-56.

[4] *Ibid.*, VI.3-4.

[5] *Ibid.*, I.87, 96, 200, 341; II.132; III.481; IV.673, 698-99; V.23-24, 120 VI.89.

[6] *Ibid.*, I.306, 312-16. Cf. *Yājña.*, I.140, which provides that a Brahmin should not accept a gift from a king who is parsimonious or greedy and acts against the dictates of Sāstras.

[7] *Rājat.*, V.403, 442. Cf. *Manu.*, ch. X, v. 76.

[8] *Rājat.*, I.342-43. Cf. *Manu.*, ch. V, v. 5; *Matsya.*, ch. CCXXVII.

Brahmins versed in the Vedic lore perform their purifications with earth and water.[1]

Though all the Kashmiri Brahmins at present consider themselves as Kāśmīrikas,[2] we have several references in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to the immigrations of Brahmins from Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Gandhāra and Āryadeśa.[3] The Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa, who was made *vidyāpati* by Cālukya King Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa, tells us in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* that he belonged to a pious and learned Madhyadeśī Brahmin family.[4] The poet Abhinanda (tenth century), son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, who wrote *Kādambarīkathāsāra*, a metrical summary of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's prose romance, traces his ancestry from Śaktisvāmin, a minister under Lalitāditya, who was originally an inhabitant of Gauḍa (Bengal) but later migrated from his native province and settled in Kashmir.[5] The Kashmiri Brahmins consider themselves to be a branch of the Sārasvatas. Bilhaṇa also refers to them as such.[6] The Brahmin élite who were well versed in the Śāstras stood at the head of the society both in the spheres of administration as ministers and as the highly learned class. Kalhaṇa's father was a great minister. Maṅkha, the author of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, belonged to a family of ministers and poets. His brother Alaṁkāra was the superintendent of the Great Treasury *(bṛhadgañja)*[7] and later became the Chief Justice *(rājasthānīya)*.[8] He is said to be holding the office of *saṁdhivigrahika* (minister of war and peace) when Maṅkha wrote his *kāvya*.[9] In this very office Maṅkha himself seems to have succeeded for he is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as holding this post.[10] Śṛṅgāra, another

[1] *Rājat.*, VI.69.

[2] Cf. Bühler, *Report*, p. 19.

[3] *Rājat.*, I.117, 307, 341-45.

[4] *Vikramāṅka.*, XVIII.73.

[5] Ray, *IHQ*, Sept., 1955, vol. XXXI, No. 3, p. 243; Banerji, S. C., *Cultural Heritage of Kashmir*, p. 119.

[6] *Vikramāṅka.*, XVIII.6.

[7] *Rājat.*, VIII.2423.

[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.2557, 2618, 2671; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII.2671, note.

[9] *Śrīkaṇṭha.*, ch. III, v. 62; ch. XXV, v. 61.

[10] *Rājat.*, VIII.3354.

brother of his, was a judge *(bṛhattantrapati)*.[1] There are also references to Brahmin Councillors[2] *(asthānadvija, asthānabhaṭṭa, adhikaraṇadvija* etc.).

We find the term *parṣad* used throughout the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to designate the corporations formed by the *purohitas* of individual temples and holy places *(tīrthas)*. Their members are called *pāriṣadyas*, as also *pārṣada*.[3] Kalhaṇa clearly distinguishes these from other Brahmins when he describes their assembly which met for discussing the controversy over the throne when the Utpala dynasty came to an end (middle of tenth century). While the Brahmins (presumably Brahmin councillors) passed five or six days in discussion, there assembled an immense host of *purohitas* of sacred shrines *(pāriṣadyas)* with their drums, cymbals and other musical instruments arranged in litters, raising glittering flags, ensigns and umbrellas.[4] They appeared on the scene, by a solemn fast, in order to force the Brahmin assembly to come to a decision regarding the future king. These *pāriṣadyas* often seem to have adopted this procedure and to have played an important part in political affairs.[5] On Tuṅga's appointment as prime-minister by Diddā, the former minister met in council and brought to Kashmir Prince Vigraharāja, son of Diddā's brother, who on his arrival induced the Brahmins holding the chief *agrahāras* to enter upon a solemm fast *(prāyopaveśa)* and cause disturbance in the kingdom.[6]

Another such instance occurred during the reign of King Saṁgrāmarāja when Brahmin councillors and the *purohitas* of sacred shrines started a solemn fast at Parihāsapura, in order to bring about the fall of Tuṅga, the minister who had been the

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.2422. Cf. Śrīkaṇṭha., ch. III, vs. 50-51.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.85-86; VIII.1620; *Sam. Māt.*, VI.26; *N. Māla.*, ch. II, vs. 133-37.

[3] *Rājat.*, II.132; V.171, 465-66; VII.13, 993, 1082, 1105; VIII.709, 900.

[4] *Ibid.*, V.461-66. Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V.461-66, note. Stein is wrong in translating the word *yugya* here as "carrying seats on load animals." It is everywhere else translated by him as a 'litter'. (VI.264; VII.713. Cf. *Sam. Māt.*, VI.26.)

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.993-95; VIII.709, 900.

[6] *Ibid.*, VI.334-36.

cause of the death of a Brahmin. Kalhaṇa tells us that it was difficult for the king to allay this revolt which was caused by the common resolve of the Brahmins and the ministers, as when fire and storm combine. The former were ready even to dethrone the king.[1] This also shows that the ministers used the *pāriṣadyas* to attain their selfish ends.

When the hostility between Ananta and his son Kalaśa was growing, the Brahmins held a solemn fast against both father and son in order to put a stop to their hostility which was causing ruin to the country and they ultimately succeeded in arranging a reconciliation.[2] During the reign of King Sussala (A.D. 1112-20), the Brahmins of *Rājanvāṭikā* (modern Rānivōr), for fear of losing the produce of their *agrahāra* lands through the plunder and atrocities committed by the Ḍāmara rebels, approached the king against his ministers who were showing indifference in fighting these rebels and were thereby perpetuating uncertain conditions.[3] An assembly of the *purohitas* was also held during the reign of King Bhikṣācara (A.D. 1120-21) when, tired of the oppression of the Ḍāmaras who held high positions during this king's reign, the Brahmins holding *agrahāras* also rose in revolt. The *purohitas* along with the citizens demanded the restoration of King Sussala and were even prepared to fight. When Bhikṣācara started his fight against Sussala, his preparations frightened these *purohitas*, who left their solemn fast and fled with the divine images under their arms..[4] Another such fast was undertaken when the Brahmins of Maḍavarājya (modern Marāz) resisted Sujji who was commander-in-chief during Jayasiṁha's reign.[5] Here Kalhaṇa shows that ordinary Brahmins holding *agrahāra* villages and those of the *purohita* corporations *(pāriṣadyas)* were distinct from the highly educated Brahmin class to which he himself belonged.[6] He

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.13-15.
[2] *Ibid.*, 400ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.768-75.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.900-4.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.2076.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.12-13, 177; VIII.898-900. Here Kalhaṇa distinguishes between the Brahmins holding *agrahāras* and those of the *purohita* corporations. The latter are at present known as Bāchbaṭṭas.

criticises the rise to power of the humbler Brahmins during King Sussala's reign (A.D. 1112-20), when he says : "By the manifold mistakes which arose during the endeavour to conciliate them, the country fell into complete confusion, and plunder became excessive."[1] "These wretches, who had never seen the king's assembly and who knew nothing of affairs, used harsh language towards the king (Sussala) when he tried to appease them. Worse than the Lavanya rebellion was this rebellion for the king, just as a disease of the throat pains more than one of the foot."[2] The growth of the power of these Brahmins and their inducing the king to do as they desired by these means invite Kalhaṇa's contempt and abuse. Referring to the Brahmins who rose in revolt during the reign of Samgrāmarāja, Kalhaṇa calls them 'wicked-minded' and 'impure'. In no single reference to assemblies of this kind do we find Kalhaṇa refraining from condemnation of such interference on the part of the Brahmins holding *agrahāras* and the *purohitas* of sacred places in the affairs of state, with which they were not at all conversant, though at some places we find them exerting a good influence—as in the case of the hostility between King Ananta and his son Kalaśa.[3]

Though the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* describes the Brahmin donees of *agrahāra* lands, engaged in the performance of religious rites, they also played an important role in the political vicissitudes in Kashmir. Whatever the general effect of their interference in the affairs of state may have been, they did try to influence politics and sometimes to get redress of their grievances by organizing strikes and holding assemblies in times of political upheavals. Prof. Kosambi has stated that "the Brahmins were not specially influential in politics as a priesthood except for a brief period under the Brahmin King Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48). On occasion, even their fasting to death was looked upon with contempt, without moving the king's heart in the least (*c.* 631-39)."[4] In this connection we must bear in mind the distinction

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.774.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.706ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.400.
[4] D. D. Kosambi, *Origins of Feudalism in Kaśmīr*, p. 5.

we have already pointed out between the Brahmins well versed in Dharmaśāstras who acted as ministers and councillors and the humbler Brahmins who lived by their priestly functions. Yaśaskara had been made king by the Brahmin assembly which sat to decide on the succession, but still he did not allow them to approach him lest they should become arrogant from pride at having bestowed the throne on him. He was otherwise prepared to give them their due respect. We have already referred to the assembly of *purohita* corporations which was active as late as the reign of King Bhikṣācara. When they grew tired of the rule of this king they held a meeting to bring back Sussala. What we wish to point out in this connection is that they were not granted any special privileges even under King Yaśaskara, yet they did not cease to make further attempts to influence politics. Kalhaṇa repeatedly expresses his disapproval of their interference in political affairs when they were not properly versed in them. Kalhaṇa disapproves of King Saṁgrāmarāja's giving of his daughter in marriage to the superintendent of the Diddāmaṭha, when he says, "How great is the difference between a princess fit for a king who is bent upon the conquest of the world and a Brahmin of a small mind whose hands are wet with the water of presents."[1]

There is evidence in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to show that some Brahmins in Kashmir were not merely concerned with religious, literary and administrative duties, but that some of them on occasions even took to the military profession. We have Brahmin feudal chiefs *(sāmantas)* and also brave Brahmin soldiers who took active part in battles.[2] This appears quite normal in view of the fact that Brahmins in Kashmir eat meat even today, as they did in Kalhaṇa's time. Strangely enough, however, though his own father was 'lord of the gate', we find Kalhaṇa, while recapitulating the conditions on Yaśaskara's accession, praising those Brahmins who are devoted to their studies and do not carry arms.[3] Here we consider Manu's

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.12.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII.91, 675; VIII.432, 1071.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI.9. The Brāhmaṇas of Kashmir, commonly known as Paṇḍits, are divided into three classes: the astrologer class *(jotish)*, the priest class

verses that "twice-born men may take up arms when they are hindered in the fulfilment of their duties; when destruction threatens the twice-born castes *(varṇas)* in evil times, in their own defence, in a strife for the fees of officiating priests, and in order to protect women and Brahmins; he who under such circumstances kills in the cause of right, commits no sin."[1] Medhātithi takes the first part of the above two verses to mean that the twice-born classes may take up arms on all occasions. He rejects the contrary interpretation which would, by taking the two verses together, limit their scope to the specific occasions mentioned by Manu. If we take Kalhaṇa's above-quoted remark into consideration we get definite evidence of the development of the idea that Brahmins might take up arms when they were hindered in their duties towards Medhātithi's free interpretation of it, that Brahmins might take up arms on all the occasions. If we take the actual history of Kashmir into account, we can believe that in the time of King Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48), when Kalhaṇa records general peace and maintenance of law and order, there was no necessity for the Brahmin *varṇa* to take up arms. Though in the earlier books they occur occasionally, the references to Brahmin feudal chiefs and soldiers become common in the seventh and eighth books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which deal with the times nearest to Kalhaṇa's own and for which he had regular records and eye-witness evidence. The turbulent times of Loharas must have led to this development. In theory Kalhaṇa seems to have believed and wished that the Brahmins should follow their traditional profess-

(Guru or Bāchabat) and the working class *(kārkun)*. The priest class do not intermarry with either of the other classes, partly because they are regarded as divine, and partly because the laity abhor their practice of accepting the apparel of deceased Hindus. The *jotish* and the *kārkun* Paṇḍits intermarry. The *jotish* Paṇḍits are learned in the Śāstras and expound them to the Hindus, and they draw up the calendars. The priest class performs religious rites and ceremonies. The vast majority of the Paṇḍits belong to the *kārkun* (writer) class, who regard the pen as their natural destiny. These sections correspond to the learned Brāhmaṇas, priests *(pāriṣadyas)* and the Kāyasthas of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and other Kashmir sources. (Lawrence, *Valley*, pp. 302-303).

[1] *Manu.*, ch. VIII, vs. 348-49.

ion of devotion to studies. In this context we clearly understand Kalhaṇa's remark which is otherwise contradictory to the actual history of his own time and that immediately preceding, and to the very profession of his father and his associates.

As regards immunities and privileges prescribed for Brahmins, the *Matsya Purāṇa* lays down for a Brahmin guilty of serious offences banishment and branding with distinctive signs instead of the death penalty.[1] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it is stated that when a Brahmin widow complained to King Candrāpīḍa against another Brahmin whom she suspected of having caused the death of her husband by witchcraft, the king told the lady that he could not punish anybody without his guilt having been established, still less a Brahmin, who is exempted from capital punishment although he may be guilty.[2] Later on, at her threat of death by starvation, the king sought divine judgement, and the guilt of the Brahmin became evident; but even then the judges inflicted a lighter punishment, since a Brahmin could not be put to death. Kalhaṇa has not made it clear what punishment was meted out to him. In a later reference we find that King Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48), who exercised close control over the castes and conditions of life of his subjects, on discovering that at Cakramelaka a Brahmin ascetic Cakrabhānu had departed from proper conduct, punished him by having the mark of a dog's foot branded on his forehead.[3] Some such punishment must also have been inflicted on the Brahmin sorcerer, who, instigated by King Candrāpīḍa's younger brother, Tārāpīḍa, is said to have used his knowledge of witchcraft *(abhicāra)* in slowly killing King Candrāpīḍa.[4] Kalhaṇa is all praise for the dying king for not having punished this Brahmin sorcerer any further, knowing that the crime was instigated by someone else.[5]

According to orthodox theory Brahmins were also exempt

[1] *Matsya.*, ch. CCXXVII.
[2] *Rājat.*, IV.88-105; cf. *Manu.*, ch. VIII, vs. 124-25.
[3] *Rājat.*, VI.108-12.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV.112.
[5] *Ibid.*, IV.114.

from all the taxes.[1] The *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* makes it clear, however, that if they forsook their true vocation and followed any other occupation such as trade, government service, agriculture, cattle-rearing and the like, they were to be taxed like others and were even to render the usual corvée.[2] In Kashmir Brahmins appear to have been exempted in theory from taxation during the period under review. We find Jonarāja expressing his regrets at a later king who imposed taxes even on them. As we shall see below we have reference to many such kings in the earlier period also. We have already stated that during the reign of King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), the priests of the *purohita* corporations, whose temples were robbed by the king, approached him[3] to grant them in compensation, exemption from the forced carriage of loads *(rūḍhibhāroḍhi)*. Kalhaṇa does not further state whether they were exempted during the reigns of the kings succeeding Śaṅkaravarman and it was reimposed by King Harṣa of the first Lohara dynasty, or whether it had continued ever since its first introduction by Śaṅkaravarman. On the whole, it would seem that if in criminal cases capital punishment was never inflicted on a Brahmin, the same principle may have ordinarily been applied in all other spheres of their life and conduct. If they were not wholly exempt from taxation, it appears that under the more orthodox kings they paid at a lower rate.

The Vaiśyas also rose to high positions in Kashmir. In the reign of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63), Haladhara, son of a Vaiśya watchman, rose high in Queen Sūryamatī's service and obtained the prime-ministership *(sarvādhikārita)*.[4] He is mentioned to have founded *agrahāras*.[5] His nephew, Varāha, is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as having held the charge of the 'lord of the gate.'[6]

The *caṇḍālas* were presumably the lowest order of society.

[1] *Agnipurāṇa*, ch. CCXXIII, vs. 30-32.
[2] *MBh., Śāntiparvan*, ch. LXXVI.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 143-44.
[4] *Rājat.*, VII.207-8.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.214; cf. *Vikramāṅka.*, XVIII.19.
[6] *Rājat* . VII.216.

The *Arthaśāstra* prescribes that heretics and *caṇḍālas* shall live outside the city beyond the burial ground.[1] Hiuen Tsang saw these unfortunate people actually forced to live outside the town and included among them butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers.[2] The *caṇḍālas* are the most important representatives of the lowest castes known as *antyas*, *antyajaḥ* or *antyajātis* in commentaries and digests.[3] They are mentioned as watchmen *(yamikaḥ)* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[4] The distinctive feature of the status of the *caṇḍālas* according to the Smṛti laws was that they were placed under a rigorous ban of untouchability. Not only is their touch included in a list of acts requiring purification of the body, but according to the extreme views quoted or followed by Smṛti authors such penances are prescribed for their approach within a certain distance, for the sight of or conversing with them, for witnessing their shows, for crossing their shadows, and for touching them in the second, third, or fourth degrees.[5] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we often find the terms *caṇḍālas*, *ḍombas* and *śvapākas*. Sometimes these are apparently used synonymously.

The *caṇḍālas* are referred to as untouchables. We have seen that the *caṇḍāla* women who found Suyya, who later became the great minister under Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-83), did not consider it proper to bring him up, thinking that she would thus ruin both his spiritual and material prospects with her touch, and therefore gave her up to a Śūdra nurse.[6] This shows that Śūdras were accepted in the social order along with the other *varṇas* while *caṇḍālas* were treated as complete outcastes. Kalhaṇa records that King Cakravarman (A.D. 936-37) received the *ḍomba* singer Raṅga with his daughters Haṁsī and Nāgalatā,

[1] *Arthaśāstra*., Bk., II, chs. 4, 56; Medhātithi on *Manu*., ch. X, v. 51.

[2] *H. Tsang*., tr. Beal, vol. I, p. 74; *Watters*, vol. I, p. 147.

[3] *Manu*,, ch. VIII, v. 279; cf. Aparārka on *Yājña*., III.292; Medhātithi on *Manu*., ch. V. v. 12; ch. X. v. 51.

[4] *Rājat*., VIII.2172.

[5] Aparārka on *Yājña*., III.28 : e.g. touching a thing touched by the *caṇḍālas*, by touching a person who may have been polluted by such a touch and so on; *Smṛtyārthasāra*, 76-78; *Prāyaścitta Prakaraṇa*, III.19.

[6] *Rājat*., V.74-78.

and later took these two girls in his seraglio. Haṁsī was even raised to the status of chief queen *(mahādevī)*.[1] These *śvapākas* or *ḍombas* were ordinarily not allowed to enter the temples of the gods, but, being related to the king, they were permitted to do so. Kalhaṇa much resents such a concession and says: "Surely the gods of fierce might did not dwell in this land, otherwise how could a *śvapāka* woman have entered their temples."[2] Kalhaṇa also records that only the proud Ḍāmaras among the chiefs did not follow the *śvapāka* queen when she went to visit the temple of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin to celebrate the festival of *tiladvādaśī*.[3] So strong is Kalhaṇa's belief in the impurity of these *ḍombas* that about King Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48), he says that it was through the intercourse with those who had taken the *ḍombas*' food remnants that impurity fell upon the king, just as the evil of leprosy spreads through the touch of a leper.[4] When there was a great fire during the reign of Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-72) Kalhaṇa declares that it purified the land by burning the great buildings which had been defiled by the contact of the kings who had been touched by the *ḍombas* and *caṇḍālas*.[5] The *śvapākas* (lit. 'dog-cookers') are in the above quoted references referred to synonymously with the *ḍombas*. The modern Dumbas, the descendants of the old *ḍombas*, are still the low-caste watchmen and menials as they appear in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Stein has pointed out that they have retained in their appearance a distinctive type of their own which points to their relationship with the gypsy tribes of India and Europe.[6] Referring to their occupations as hunters, fishermen, buffoons, quacks, etc., and to their daughters working as singers and dancers, Stein wrote : "Their occupations thus closely resembled

[1] *Rājat.*, V.387.

[2] *Ibid.*, V.394.

[3] *Ibid.*, V.395. This festival is celebrated on the 12th day of the dark half of Māgha *(Mārgaśīrṣa)* when sesamum grains *(til)* are to be offered in sacrifice. The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* mentions the six-fold rites to be performed on that day with sesamum—usually termed *ṣaṭṭila*. (*Rājat.*, V. 395; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 482ff.)

[4] *Ibid.*, VI.84.

[5] *Ibid.*, VI.192ff.

[6] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 430.

those of the gypsies whose name, *rom*, is undoubtedly derived from Sanskrit *ḍomba*."[1]

We have already dealt with the question of Kāyasthas and *diviras* and have shown that these terms did not signify castes in Medieval Kashmir but meant to signify certain professions. We have not been able to ascertain to which caste the Ḍāmaras belonged. This much is sure that they were not Brahmins. We have reference to Brahmins holding fasts owing to the oppression of the Ḍāmaras.[2] Perhaps being the indigene class they could not be incorporated within the framework of the haughty nobility. In the second *Rājataraṅgiṇī* they are mentioned as *ḍombas*. Lawrence has also held that the Ḍāmaras were the descendants of Śūdras.[3] Whether this epithet was used merely out of scorn or not, this much can be said that they belonged to an inferior class. In a certain passage Kalhaṇa praises the wife of the Ḍāmara *koṣṭhaka* who became a *satī* when her husband was mortally wounded and he attributes this exceptional conduct to the lady's noble descent from a family of Rajputs.[4] This reference suggests that the Ḍāmaras were not Kṣatriyas or Rajputs as the Lavanyas at present known as *lons* claim to be. As *satī* was a common practice at that time and was much esteemed by all the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas especially, it appears that Ḍāmara women, not belonging to the higher strata of society in matters of castes, did not immolate themselves. Moreover, the blood-sprinkling rite, as we have seen above in thc case of King Cakravarman and the Ḍamara taking pledge together, was peculiar to the Ḍāmaras and the Khaśas, and was not followed by the Brahmins,[5] Such customs, we have stated already, are found among the Khonds in other parts of India.[6]

POSITION OF WOMEN

Regarding the position of women in Kashmir, we have a reference in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to a verse in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 430, note 3.
[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.658.
[3] Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 306.
[4] *Infra*, Chapter Five.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 163-64; for *khaśas* see Appendix IV.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 163-64.

where it is stated that when the legendary King Dāmodara's pregnant widow Yaśovatī was installed on the throne by the Brahmins and the councillors grumbled at the coronation of a woman, then Kṛṣṇa of Yadu's race appeased them by saying that the land of Kashmir was Pārvatī and its king, as a portion of Śiva, was to be respected by all those who desire prosperity. Here we find that a queen, in the same way as a king, is considered to be a portion of Śiva—the all Transcendent Being. Thereafter the people started looking upon Yaśovatī as the mother of her subjects and as a goddess, while previously women were considered to be objects of enjoyment only.[1]

Nevertheless, Kalhaṇa elsewhere emphasizes the duty of absolute obedience and devotion of wives to their husbands.[2] We also find references in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* enjoining women of good families to worship their husbands with chaste and resolute behaviour and take them as the highest deity.[3] Even death is better for a woman of good family, when her husband is away, than to meet the eyes of people who lust after her beauty.[4] Faithfulness to a single man is the greatest virtue of women.[5] Kalhaṇa strongly condemns immoral conduct on their part. Referring to King Durlabhavardhana's wife, who is said to have had illicit relations with the king's minister Khaṅkha, Kalhaṇa speaks of a woman as an object of sense like the other objects of senses *(indriyārtha)—śabda, sparśa, rūpa, rasa* and *gandha, strī* (woman) being the sixth.[6] A woman had to devote all her efforts to prove herself a devoted wife to her husband and to try to please him.[7] Thus it appears that the woman's duty was to remain confined to her home and to fulfil all her manifold domestic duties. This, however, does not imply her total subjection.

As regards the role of women in politics, the history of

[1] *Rājat.*, I.70-73; *Nīlamata.*, v. 237.
[2] *Rājat.*, I.322; II.48.
[3] *KSS*, vol. I, p. 164.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 33-36.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 36.
[6] *Rājat.*, III.514; VI.76-77, 316-17.
[7] *Ibid.*, II.48; III.496.

Kashmir is full of instances where women managed the affairs of the state as successfully as some of the kings did. The right of women to rule the realm was recognised in Kashmir from early times. We have already referred to the case of Gonanda's queen, whose right to rule was defended by Kṛṣṇa himself.[1]

After the death of Śaṁkaravarman, queen Sugandhā (A.D. 902-4) actively governed the country as regent and later, when the king's lineage died out, she is said to have assumed the reins of government (A.D. 904-6) at the request of her subjects.[2] Before she became a full-fledged sovereign in her own right we find Diddā's name on the coins along with that of Kṣemagupta. She dominated the historical scene of Kashmir for more than half a century (A.D. 950-1003), first as queen consort, then as regent, and finally as ruler in her own right. With the help of her minister Tuṅga, she broke the power of the great landowning Ḍāmaras and even of the Brahmins. Eventually she founded a new line of rulers of Kashmir by nominating her nephew Saṁgrāmadeva as her successor.[3] Again, during the rule of the Loharas we find that queen Sūryamatī controlled the affairs of the state during the reign of her husband King Ananta, much of whose success in government was due to this vigorous queen. She wanted the government to be in stronger hands and it was on her advice and insistence that the king abdicated in favour of his son Kalaśa.[4] King Uccala gave a rare privilege to his favourite queen Jayamatī by allowing her to occupy one half of his throne. It is not, however, very clear whether this was a privilege enjoyed by all the queens of Kashmir or was first introduced by this king and Kalhaṇa specifically refers to it because of the queen's low descent.[5]

During the rule of the Loharas we do not find any women ministers and councillors though in an earlier time we have a queen acting as the chief chamberlain *(mahāpratihārapīḍā)*.[6]

[1] *Supra*, p. 225.
[2] *Rājat.*, V.243.
[3] *Ibid.*, VI.188ff. Cf. Cunningham. *CMI*, plate IV.
[4] *Rājat.*, VII.199ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.82.
[6] *Ibid.*, IV.485.

There is a reference during the reign of king Harşa showing that ministers were required to obey the written orders sent by the queen. Neglect of one such order of Harşa's queen by the commander-in-chief was considered as an offence.[1]

FAMILY

The most striking feature of a Hindu family was and still is its joint nature. The family in the Hindu society might include any number of members. All these members of the joint family lived in a common abode and shared the property of the family in common.[2] Bṛhaspati speaks of the Hindu family as one the members of which share a common kitchen *(ekapākena-vasatam)*[3]. The system of joint family existed in Kashmir in the past as it exists up to the present day. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[4] we have evidence of the prevalence of this system not only among the masses but even in the royal families. King Ananta, even when he had crowned his son Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89), later on his minister Haladhara's advice, resumed his power, Kalaśa remaining king merely in name, taking even his meals regularly in the presence of his parents. Full of jealousy and embittered in her mind over her son's power, Queen Sūryamatī would not permit that her daughters-in-law should make in their dress, ornaments or in anything else that display which befitted them as the king's young wives. She made these queens constantly do the work of slave-girls until they did not refuse even to smear the house-floor with cow-dung. Kalhaṇa relates another interesting story in this connection. King Kalaśa had fallen into licentious habits and was once beaten badly by the *caṇḍāla* watchmen when he was trying to get into the house of the minister Jindurāja in order to have illicit relations with the latter's daughter-in-law. The next day when the retired King Ananta met his son Kalaśa, the ruling king, the former slapped him in the face in the presence of Bijja, a *rājaputra*.[5] The

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1206.
[2] Cf. *Nārada.*, XIII.38; Jolly, J., *Hindu Law and Customs*, p. 168.
[3] *Bṛhas.*, ch. XXV, v. 6.
[4] *Rājat.*, VII.243-50, 262.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.307-22.

Kathāsaritsāgara is also full of stories about the joint family system and the status of the daughter-in-law therein. Even as late as the fourteenth century we have the case of Lallā, the prophetess, who was a married woman of respectable family living at Pāṇḍreṭhan (ancient Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna) near Srinagar, and was cruelly treated by her mother-in-law, who nearly starved her to death.[1] Thus the women in a joint family were under the general control of the oldest married woman in it, usually the mother-in-law. Generally in a joint family the sons, daughters and daughters-in-law had all to bow down before the decisions of their elders.

SATĪ

Remarriage of widow was generally not countenanced[2] and in fact the death of a woman's husband meant social ruin. Her position in society became miserable. If she was dissuaded by her family at the last moment she could escape social censure, otherwise it was preferable to face the flames and end the life in honour. On the position of widow in contemporary India Alberūnī remarks: "If a wife loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things—either to remian a widow as long as she lives or to burn herself; and the latter eventuality is considered preferable, because as a widow she is ill-treated as long as she lives. As regards the wives of the kings, they are in the habit of burning them, whether they wish it or not, by which they desire to prevent any of them by chance committing something unworthy of the illustrious husband. They make an exception only for women of advanced years and for those who have children; for the son is the responsible protector of his mother."[3] Thus all our evidence agrees on the point that it was the degraded and miserable plight of woman in Hindu society which encouraged this practice widely in India. It is also evident from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that those ladies who did not immolate themselves on the death

[1] Sir Carnac Temple, *The Word of Lallā, the Prophetess*, Intro., p. 7.
[2] Cf. *Manu.*, ch. V, v. 142; ch. IX, v. 47; *Yājña.*, I.52.
[3] *Alberūnī's India*, vol. II, p. 155.

of their husbands led a very simple and austere life. Mallārjuna's mother wore no ornaments on account of her widowhood.[1] Although the custom of *satī* was widely known in ancient times, it is not sanctioned by the Dharmaśāstras or by the Smṛtis. Manu and Yājñavalkya are reticent about it, though Viṣṇu seems to commend it in passages which are regarded by many as later interpolations.[2] Discussing the general prevalence of this custom among the primitive warlike tribes, Altekar is of the opinion that fighting races are very jealous of their women and often prefer to kill them, rather than take the risk of their going astray after their husbands' deaths. There was also the general belief that the warrior would require in his next life all those things which were near and dear to him in the present existence.[3]

The custom started to become popular in Kṣatriya circles. From *c.* A.D. 400 and from A.D. 700, fiery advocates began to come forward in increasing numbers to extol the custom of *satī*.[4] There does not appear to be any attested instance of force being exercised on unwilling widows to mount the funeral pyre. The *Padmapurāṇa*, though it highly extols the custom, expressly prohibits it for the Brahmin women. Later on, the Brahmin community, with its self-denying code of life, began to feel that it should not allow itself to be outdistanced by the Kṣatriyas. The custom, therefore, began to be followed by a few Brahmin families soon after A.D.1000.[5] Most scholars believe that the practice of *satī* was mainly a medieval development and became more frequent in Northern India during A.D. 700-1100.[6] Though

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1969.

[2] Majumdar, R. C. (ed.) *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 568.

[3] Altekar, A. S. *Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, p. 116.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-29 :

Mṛte bhartari brahmacaryaṁ tadanvārahaṇaṁ vā /
—*Padmapurāṇa; Viṣṇu.*, ch. XXV, v. 14.

Mṛte bhartari sādhvī strī brahmacarye vyavasthitā /
svargaṁ gacchatyaputrāpi yathā te brahmacāriṇaḥ //
—*Ibid.*, ch. XXV, v. 17

[6] Altekar, A. S. *op. cit.*, pp. 126-27.

there is strong opposition to this custom in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī*[1] and though it was strongly opposed by the South Indians in the twelfth century, we find a different note in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and other local sources.

In Kashmir we find that the custom of *satī*, though it existed from very early times, was not strictly followed before the advent of the Lohara dynasty.[2] That Queen Diddā became the guardian of her son Abhimanyu after the death of her husband Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-58) shows that she did not immolate herself along with her husband. Kalhaṇa tells us that on Kṣemagupta's death, Queen Diddā showed her desire to become a *satī*, but, while the other queens were ready to immolate themselves, Diddā felt regret in front of the funeral pyre, and was prevented from seeking death by the persistent remonstrances of Naravāhana, her minister.[3] Earlier, among the ladies of King Yaśaskara's (A.D. 939-48) seraglio, only the single queen Trailokyadevī immolated herself.[4] Later Kalhaṇa records the case of another lady who was requested by the next King Parvagupta (A.D. 949-50) for her favours. She deluded him by telling him to complete a certain Viṣṇu temple before she would agree to his request. The king proudly fulfilled his promise while the lady sacrificed her life in the flames of the sacrificial fire.[5] Nandā, the wife of King Gopālavarman (A.D. 902-04), did not burn herself with him. So did his other wife Jayalakṣmī.[6] On the death of King Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), three queens, Surendravatī and two others, followed the king into death, while Sugandhā, who had even accompanied him on his expedition to the Northern region *(Uttarāpatha)* did not commit *satī*, in order to act as the guardian of her son Gopālavarman, whom King Śaṁkaravarman had while dying, entrusted to her protection, since the boy had no other relatives

[1] *Kādambarī (pūrvārdha)*, p. 308; *Kuṭṭ.*, vs. 480, 559-61, 565; *KSS*, vol. I, p. 54.

[2] *Rājat.*, III.123.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI.195ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, VI.107.

[5] *Ibid.*, VI.138ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, V.245-46.

and was still a child.[1]

Kalhaṇa, however, does not admire those queens who did not immolate themselves with their husbands. Referring to the ascendency of Naravāhana, Diddā's minister, he contemptuously uses the word 'widow' *(raṇḍā)* for Queen Diddā.[2] He tells us that the widowed Queen Sugandhā became dissolute through sensual enjoyments and fell in love with the minister named Prabhākara-deva.[3] King Harṣa in his hatred for the family of Malla killed Vyadamaṅgala, and the latter's wife and mother set their house on fire and burned themselves.[4] When this king, in his last desperate struggle against Uccala and Sussala, killed their father Malla, the latter's consort Kumudalekhā and her sister Vallabhā, immolated themselves in a fire kindled in their house.[5] Āśāmatī and Sahajā, Malla's daughters-in-law, who were the wives of Salhaṇa and Ralha, also burned themselves to death.[6] Six female attendants of the ladies of Malla's household died on the same pyre.[7] Nandā, the mother of the future Kings Uccala and Sussala, burned herself in her house together with her nurse Candrī.[8] Thus we find that the practice of *satī* was very much honoured and universally practised by the ladies of Malla's branch of the Lohara family. The wide prevalence of this custom was naturally a family tradition. The Loharas as *khaśa* Kṣatriyas of the solar stock seem to have been very proud of their women for preserving the family honour, and *satī* was practised even by attendants and nurses.

Though there was so much ill-feeling on account of their son, Kalaśa's conduct, between King Ananta and his wife Sūryamatī, and though the king committed suicide on being afflicted by her words, we find that Sūryamatī was burnt to death on her husband's funeral pyre. An interesting feature of

[1] *Rājat.*, V.220-26.
[2] *Ibid.*, VI.260.
[3] *Ibid.*, V.230, 472; VIII.1953.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.1467-68.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.1486.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.1487.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.1488.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII.1490-94.

this event as described by Kalhaṇa is her oath by sacred libation, which she took in order to avoid the slanderous rumours which had grown up with regard to the position of the minister Haladhara as her confidant.[1] During the time of the Lohara dynasty, the custom of *satī* seems to have taken deep root in the ruling families of Kashmir, so that not only regularly married wives but even concubines used to practise it. Kings Kalaśa and Utkarṣa were followed in death both by their wives and concubines.[2] In the time of Harṣa, 17 queens with Vasantalekhā at their head including his daughter-in-law immolated themselves in apprehension of the king's and his son Bhoja's death, when both of them were in the field fighting against the rival claimants and the rebellious Ḍāmaras.[3] The history of Kashmir during the second Lohara dynasty teems with the cases of *satī* in the royal families. On King Uccala's death Queens Jayamatī and Bijjalā immolated themselves with him.[4]

We have no evidence of the exercise of physical force to induce the women to burn themselves, but there existed a situation of helplessness on the part of the widow, where social pressure was such that she dared not openly declare her unwillingness, but could only try to influence one of the ministers to dissuade her. Presumably, if the minister's arguments were forcible enough, it was felt that honour was satisfied and that the widow might keep her life without too serious a stain on her character. The few cases of completely voluntary self-immolation fill Kalhaṇa with wondering admiration, not unmixed with cynicism. King Uccala had been treacherously murdered by conspirators, just as he was on his way to the apartments of Bijjalā, his favourite queen. Kalhaṇa further describes the efforts made by Bijjalā to throw herself first on the pyre in front

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.461, 477-78.

[2] *Ibid.*, 724-28, 855-62.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1579. Cf. VII.956. Vasantalekhā was from the Śāhi family. Also cf. *Harṣacarita*, ch. V, page 155. Harṣa's mother is described by Bāṇabhaṭṭa to have burnt herself to death even before her husband was actually dead.

[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.367-68.

of the chief queen, Jayamatī.[1] On this pathetic and memorable event Kalhaṇa writes, "Nobody can understand these women of unscrutable minds, who, though given to unfaithfulness and killing their husbands, yet step with ease into the fire."[2]

Kalhaṇa has recorded the cases of two Kashmir queens bribing their ministers in order to induce them to come to the cremation grounds and dissuade them from their apparently voluntary resolutions to accompany their departed husbands. Queen Diddā was thus saved by her minister Naravāhana.[3] On the other hand, Garga, the minister, took Queen Jayamatī's word as a formality *(prakriyā-vaco)* and prepared her funeral pyre. The queen had to be burnt in pursuance of her so called voluntary resolve.[4] These cases show that the practice of becoming a *satī* was in some cases rather a matter of convention than of actual feeling on the part of the ladies.

Regarding the practice of *satī* among the Brahmins we have seen that during the reign of King Candrāpīḍa a Brahmin widow complained to the king against another Brahmin whom she suspected of having caused the death of her husband by witchcraft. She had not burnt herself because she was waiting until she could seek vengeance against the culprit. Thus we find that the practice of *satī* was prevalent among the Brahmins in Kashmir from very early days.[5]

There is also a reference in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to a mother becoming a *satī* after the death of her only son. She had not perhaps committed it at the death of her husband

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.367.

[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.365-66.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI.195ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.363-68. Compare Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbarī*, vol. II, pp. 191-92. Abul-Fazl divides the *satīs* into a number of categories. Those who were compelled by relatives to burn themselves; those who deliberately and with a cheerful countenance accepted the ordeal owing to their devotion for their dead husbands; those who surrendered themselves out of regard for public opinion; those who were swayed by consideration of family traditions and customs; and finally those who were actually dragged into the fire against their will.

[5] *Supra*, p. 162.

because her child was then very small.[1] The feeling of devotion sometimes led the servants to burn themselves at the imminent death of their masters.[2] Kalhaṇa also tells us of *satīs* among ministerial and other families. Thus in the reign of Ananta, Bimbā, the daughter of a Śāhi chief and the daughter-in-law of the minister Tuṅga, who was a *khaśa* from Parṇotsa, entered the fire as a *satī* on the death of her husband, Kandarpasiṁha.[3] At the same time we are told that Kṣemā, another wife of the same Kandarpasiṁha, had meetings with Nāga, Tuṅga's brother, even after her husband's death.[4] Kalhaṇa also tells us that the unhappy Maṅkhanā, the wife of Tuṅga, after the death of her husband left the country and took up residence at Rājapurī. She is said to have taken with her the two sons, Vicitrasiṁha and Mātṛsiṁha, whom Mammā, a concubine, had borne to Kandarpasiṁha, as well as Mammā herself.[5] It is noteworthy that here the only case of self-immolation is that of the lady of the Śāhi stock; Tuṅga's wife and his other daughters-in-law apparently did not even consider doing so.

Kalhaṇa appreciates the conduct of the Ḍāmara widow, who, belonging to a Rajput family, did not follow the custom of other Ḍāmara women who refused to immolate themselves with their husbands, but became a *satī*.[6] On the other hand he condemns the conduct of those who just burned themselves for the sake of following the prevalent custom. Kalhaṇa's conception of a *satī* is a matter of the heart, wherein the husband and wife live in complete conjugal harmony during their lifetime and the latter burns herself on her separation from the former.[7]

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1380.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1447-49.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.103.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII.102.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.104-5.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.2334. Cf. *Kādambarī* (*pūrvārdha*), p. 308.
[7] *Rājat.*, VII.1412-13. Cf. Sikh Guru Amar Das's remark : "They are not *satīs* who burn themselves with the dead. The true *satī* is she who dieth from the shock of separation from her husband. They also ought to be considered *satīs* who abide in chastity and contentment, who serve, and when rising, ever remember the Lord." —*Ādi Granth*, II.92,600

Thus when the devoted wife of King Tuñjina immolated herself on the pyre, Kalhaṇa compares the flames of the pyre on which the queen became a *satī* with the fibres of the stalks of the water-lily, which are used as a cooling application. He also records that the place where that lady followed her husband in death was known in his day to the people as Vākpuṣṭaṭavī, apparently after the name of the lady.[1]

The Ḍāmara women did not ordinarily practise this custom. The wife of Ḍāmara Koṣṭhaka, who did follow it, is said to have done so because she belonged to a Rajput family. It is clear that though she had been married into a Ḍāmara family she had the liberty to decide about it herself without any interference from her people. Kalhaṇa much praises this act of hers because it was purely voluntary, for if she had wanted she could have avoided it since it was not enjoined by the social custom of the Ḍāmaras.[2] In the *Samayamātṛkā*, the heroine Kaṅkāli marries the Ḍāmara Samarasiṁha but plans to have him killed in a quarrel with one of his relatives. On the success of her plan, far from becoming a *satī*, she lives with her step-son as his wife.[3] In the *Mahānirvāṇatantra*[4] it is stated that a woman is the embodiment of supreme Goddess and that if a person burned her with her husband, he would be condemned to eternal hell. Thus according to the Tāntric view a woman should not immolate herself. In Kashmir the rarity of *satī* among the Ḍāmaras was perhaps due to their following the Tāntric religion rather than the idealistic monism adhered to by the Brahmin section of Kashmir society. Altekar holds the view that great prevalence of *satī* in the valley of Kashmir is probably due to its proximity to Central Asia which was the home of the Scythians among whom the custom was quite common.[5] It appears that the custom was very common among the ruling class in Kashmir. As the Loharas belonged to the *khaśa* Rajput stock, the custom seems to have attained greater sanctity.

[1] *Rājat.*, II.56-57; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, p. 265.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.2334-37.
[3] *Sam. Māt.* II.21ff.
[4] X.79-80.
[5] Vide Altekar, A. S. *op. cit.*, p. 127.

GENERAL

The class of prostitutes, known from early times in India, formed a distinct social unit in Kashmir. Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmatam* and Kṣemendra in the *Samayamātrikā*, the *Deśopadeśa* and the *Kalāvilāsa* exhaustively deal with this class and all the snares and tricks of the trade of the courtesans for entrapping innocent young men and getting rid of unwanted patrons.[1] In the *Samayamātṛkā*,[2] Kṣemendra describes in detail the various occupations adopted by the heroine Kaṅkālī, to seduce merchant's sons, temple priests *(prasādapāla)*, Ḍāmaras, horsemen, scribes *(diviras)*, and the keepers of the royal prisons. She becomes a Buddhist nun to gain her ends, a nurse in the house of a minister, the wife of a shepherd, and a seller of flowers and garlands for the gods; she sells wine at the time of the *takṣaka* festival and then becomes the wife of a load carrier; and ultimately she crosses the Kashmir boundary by applying some soporific wild flower to the keeper at the watch station *(draṅga)*. The narrative describes the various arts in which she is adept, so that she can pretend to adopt any occupation which she needs in connection with her trade. In the fifth chapter of the *Samayamātṛkā* and in the *Kalāvilāsa*, Kṣemendra gives a detailed list of all the sixty-four arts which are prescribed by the authorities on the science of erotics *(kāmaśāstra)*.[3] Dāmodaragupta in the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* gives details of the life of a courtesan and expects very high qualifications from her.[4] This text also relates a story which shows that the connection of a Brahmin with a courtesan *(gaṇikā)* was regarded as a disgraceful act.[5] Kṣemendra relates stories about the feigned love of these ladies, who make a show even of dying at the funeral pyres of their lovers, while in reality they never act upon such feelings of affection.[6] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa also mentions the courtesans who are naturally

[1] *Deśopadeśa*, III, *passim*; *Kalāvilāsa*, IV, *passim*.

[2] *Sam. Māt.*, II, *passim*.

[3] *Ibid.*, V; *Kalāvilāsa*, IV.3-11.

[4] *Kutt.*, vs. 123ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, 410ff.

[6] *Kalāvilāsa*, IV.19ff; X.23; *Deśopadeśa*, III; *Sam. Māt.*, II.32ff. Cf. *Cāru.*, v. 48.

inclined towards extracting money from their lovers rather than being bothered about their good qualities. He condemns their wealth and tells us that during the rule of weak and imbecile kings, the realm fell a prey to prostitution and immorality.[1] Kalhaṇa gives us many instances of Kashmir kings who took such women into their seraglios, and even sometimes made them their chief queens. Thus King Uccala's chief queen (*paṭṭadevī*),[2] Jayamatī, a woman of unknown origin, had been adopted by a female dancer named Kāṇaśrāvatī. She was Uccala's mistress and later became the concubine of the governor Ānanda. When the latter died she came back to Uccala and was finally raised to the status of chief queen.[3]

Among the classes of people who visited the prostitutes Kṣemendra mentions saffron merchants, cooks, flower-sellers, the temple care-takers (*prasādapālas*), the Ḍāmaras, the cavaliers, the writers (*diviras*), the sons of officers and those of the ministers. An important companion of the prostitute was the *kuṭṭanī* or procuress, who taught her the tricks of the trade and helped her in entrapping young men. In the *Samayamātṛkā*, Kṣemendra talks very contemptuously about this class of women and uses abusive language for them.[4] Nevertheless, he admits the indispensability of the procuress in the house of a courtesan when he makes Kalāvatī tell us of her miserable condition at the death of the old bawd (*mātṛkā*) who was killed by the ministrations of a quack physician.[5] The parasite (*viṭa*) was another regular member of this class of Kashmir society. All our

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.481, 661; V.294.

[2] *Paṭṭadevī* or *paṭṭamahiṣī* (*Rājat.*, VII.1462) is called from *paṭṭa* or golden band round the head of the queen who participated in the ceremony of the coronation of the king. The Gāhadavāla queen Prthvīdevī Prthvīvarśikā was so called. In our reference Jayamatī could not have participated in the coronation; though the term may have been used generally for the chief queen. See *supra*, p. 86; *JRAS*, 1896, p. 786ff; C. V. Vaidya, *HMHI*, vol. III, pp. 441, 458; R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 338.

[3] *Rājat.*, VII.1460-62.

[4] *Sam. Māt.*, IV.1-8, 40-45; cf. *Deśopadeśa*, IV, *passim*.

[5] *Sam. Māt.*, I.27ff.

authors mention him with scorn.[1]

Whatever regrets that high class Brahmin society may have had at the existence of these people, it is very clear from our sources that they were regular features of the life of Kashmir in medieval times. Kṣemendra lays them all bare before us and justifies his humorous and satirical pornography by explaining that he has written it for the amusement of the right-minded and for the guidance of the youth, who fall easily into the snares of the courtesans and waste the wealth of the country. Through his satire he also brings to light the degraded life of the Buddhist nuns and the class of Tāntric *gurus* who used religion as a covering for sin, spent the nights with the prostitutes and during the day posed before the world as high spiritual authorities.

The custom of dedicating maidens for service in temples can be traced back to ancient times. Reference to this class of women is found in Medhātithi as well as in inscriptions all over India.[2] Abu Zaid also speaks of courtesans attached to Indian temples.[3] On the causes of prostitution in India of his day Alberūnī wrote "The Hindus are not very severe in punishing whoredom. The fault, however, in this lies with the kings, not with the nation. But for this, no Brahmin or a priest would suffer in their idol temples the women who sing, dance, and play. The kings make them an attraction for their cities, a bait of pleasure for their subjects, for no other but financial reasons. By the revenues which they derive from the business both as fines and taxes, they want to recover the expenses which their treasury has to spend on the army."[4]

Crooke, writing about this custom, thinks that the connection of courtesans with temples began about the ninth or tenth century A.D.[5] T. V. Sheshagiri Iyer believes that their connection with religious institutions must have been earlier.[6] In

[1] *Sam. Māt.*, I.10; VIII.13, 17; *Deśopadeśa*, V, *passim.*

[2] *Medhātithi on Manu* ch. IX, v. 135; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, pp. 8ff.; vol. XXII, pp. 122f.; *SII*, vol. II. No. 66.

[3] Elliot, *HI*, vol. II quoted in Majumdar, R. C. (ed.) *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 379; (P. 380, 1964 ed.)

[4] *Alberūnī's India*, vol. II, p. 157.

[5] Crooke, W. *Ency. Rel. & Ethics*, vol. X, p. 407.

[6] Sheshagiri Iyer, T. V., *QJMS*, vol. XIII, April 1923, p. 690.

Kashmir we find references to dancing girls *(nartakīs)* attached to the temples from very early times.[1] Kalhaṇa tells us that King Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II fell deeply in love with a merchant's wife, and when his life was at stake, the merchant offered to part with her. The king did not accept the offer, as it was unjust. The merchant then offered to put her in the temple as a dancer, so that the king could enjoy her as a dancing girl attached to the temple.[2] Reference to dancing girls belonging to temples occurs again during the time of King Lalitāditya. The custom is said to have been hereditary and Kalhaṇa tells us through the girls themselves that it was handed down to them by tradition—they themselves did not know the reason.[3] King Jayāpīḍa of the Kārkoṭa dynasty is said to have attended such dancing in the Gauḍa country and brought one of the dancers as his wife along with a princess from that place. So accomplished was this lady that she could, from the king's ways, understand that he was either a disguised king or a *rājaputra* born in a great family.[4]

The story of King Durlabhaka shows that these temple dancers could be taken as secondary wives. King Utkarṣa (A.D. 1089) had a concubine named Sahajā. She had been a dancing girl attached to a temple. He had seen her on the dancing stage and had taken her into the royal seraglio. Kalhaṇa highly praises the noble conduct of this lady, who, on the king's death by suicide, entered the pyre after smearing thickly over her limbs the blood of her lover.[5] This instance shows the high sense of attachment and devotion to her lord on the part of Sahajā, who had been, as a courtesan, favoured also by Harṣadeva. He now wanted her to remain alive, but she refused.

EDUCATION

The land of Kashmir has been known from ancient times

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.421-22; *Kuṭṭ.*, vs. 743-45; *Sam. Māt.*, II.89.
[2] *Rājat.*, IV.36.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV.269-71.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV.421-26, 442.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.855-860.

for its learning. At the very outset of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa praises the "learning, lofty houses, saffron, icy waters and grapes, such as even in heaven are difficult to find." Kashmir is considered the very abode of the goddess of learning *(Sarasvatī)*. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the other Kashmirian sources give ample evidence of the scholarly education not only of the Brahmins who attained high proficiency in all the branches of literature, but also of men of other castes, so much so that even a foreign observer, Alberūnī (A.D. 1030), noted that Kashmir was the centre of Hindu learning in his time. He also praises the skill of the Kashmiri scholars in taking in hand any difficult task, even such as that of committing the Vedas to writing.[1] Earlier Hiuen Tsang noted that the people of Kashmir loved learning and were well instructed.[2] Kalhaṇa again refers to the spiritual excellence of his priceless country through Mātṛgupta, when he describes how the latter was sent to rule over Kashmir by Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī.[3] Bilhaṇa also in his *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* praises his motherland (Kashmir) for its holiness, for the sanctity and learning of its Brahmins and for the beauty and learning of its women.[4]

There is much evidence in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to show that the Kashmir kings patronised learning. King Jayāpīḍa brought from abroad competent expositors to restore the study of *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. He himself was instructed in grammatical science by Kṣīrasvāmin, and gained distinction with the wise.[5] This learned man, who flourished in Jayāpīḍa's court, was the author of the well-known commentary on the *Amarakośa* and several smaller grammatical treatises. Jayāpīḍa patronized several other famous scholars; Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa was his chief *paṇḍit (sabhāpati)*; Dāmodaragupta, the author of the *Kuṭṭanī-matam*, was his chief councillor *(dhuryadhīsaciva)*; Manoratha, Śaṅkhadanta, Caṭaka and Sandhimat were his poets and, Vāmana

[1] *Alberūnī's India*, vol. I, p. 126.
[2] Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, p. 189 (Calcutta ed., 1958).
[3] *Rājat.*, III.125 note, 223.
[4] *Vikramāṅka.*, XVIII.1-8.
[5] *Rājat.*, IV.488-94.

and others his ministers.[1] King Avantivarman of Kashmir (A.D. 855/6-883) appointed a certain well-known teacher to expound grammar in a Vaiṣṇava temple founded by himself.[2] It was during this king's time that Śivasvāmin wrote *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*. This author was equally at home in Sanskrit and Prakrit.[3] King Yaśaskara founded a hospice *(maṭha)* for the residence of students from India *(Āryadeśa)* who came to Kashmir for education, and to the superintendent of this *maṭha* he presented the royal insignia with umbrellas and chowries, with the exception of mint dies *(taṅka)* and the royal seraglio.[4] Queen Sūryamatī bestowed one hundred and eight *agrahāras* on learned Brahmins.[5] King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) was possessed of exceptional skill, knowing all languages, a good poet in all tongues, and, as a repository of all learning, famous even in other countries.[6] He adorned men of learning with jewels and bestowed on them the privilege of using litters, horses, parasols, etc.[7] Bilhaṇa, who had left Kashmir in the reign of King Kalaśa, had been made by Parmāḍi, the lord of Karnāṭa, his chief *paṇḍita (vidyāpati)*, whose parasol was borne aloft before the king. We are told by Kalhaṇa that even in the distant Deccan he heard that King Harṣa was like a kinsman to true poets, and thought that even so great a splendour as he was then enjoying, was a deception.[8] Harṣa also composed songs which were much appreciated.[9] The Tibetan tradition attributes a Sanskrit poem entitled *Aṣṭa-mahā-caitya-vandana-stotra* to King Harṣa.[10]

The kings in Kashmir were required to be learned and well-versed in the Sanskrit language. Kalhaṇa ridicules King

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.495-97.
[2] *Ibid.*, V.28-29.
[3] *Kapphiṇā.*, canto XIX, p. 11, Preface. Cf. *KSS*, vol. I, p. 71 for Sanskrit, Prakrit and local vernacular.
[4] *Rājat.*, VI.87-88.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.184.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.610.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.934.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII.935-37.
[9] *Ibid.*, VII.942.
[10] *IHQ*, 1941, pp. 223ff.

Śaṅkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) who did not know Sanskrit and used vulgar speech *(apabhraṁśa)* fit for the drunkards.[1] Though we have no definite evidence about the training of the princes, we get an impression from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that they had to be well-versed in the arts of war and the arts of peace. Diddā's son Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-72) is said to have been learned, cherished by the learned and versed in both *śastras* and Śāstras.[2] Prince Harṣa's learning shows that there must have been arrangements for the education of the princes.[3]

The *Amarakośa* defines *maṭha* as an abode for scholars and others.[4] *Maṭhas* were used also as sort of feeding houses for the poor and the infirm and rest-houses for pilgrims as well as important educational centres. The *maṭhas* were attached to temples and played an important part in the cultural life of Kashmir. They controlled temple-affairs and provided lodgings and food for devotees, and above all, were centres of educational activity and moral and spiritual instruction. We have referred above to King Avantivarman's appointment of a well-known teacher to expound grammar in a Vaiṣṇava temple.[5] Buddhist *vihāras* were also centres of learning and culture in ancient India. We have no evidence to show whether the Buddhist monasteries of Kashmir continued as centres of general learning during this period. But the regular establishment of *vihāras* by the Kashmir kings and the renovation of some of them during the second Lohara dynasty shows that they remained as centres of Buddhist learning, though their work could not have been primarily secular.

Vihāras and *maṭhas* were not the only centres of education and learning in Kashmir. Suyya, who had been found by a *caṇḍāla* woman and had been brought up by a Śūdra nurse, grew into an intelligent youth and having learnt his letters *(akṣaraḥ)* became a teacher *(upādhyāya)* of small boys in the house of a

[1] *Rājat.*, V.206.
[2] *Ibid.*, VI.290.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII.610.
[4] *Amara.*, S. V., ch. II, part II, v. 8.
[5] *Supra*, p. 241.

certain householder.[1] Referring to the ancestry of King Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48) Kalhaṇa tells us that the king's grandfather Kāmadeva, who lived in the village of Piśācakapura, having acquired the knowledge of letters *(akṣaraḥ)*, became a boys' teacher in the house of Meruvardhana.[2] The above references show that private individuals contributed a great deal towards education by arranging small classes of students in their houses. Evidently, these teachers were professionals, whose employment and payment must have been arranged by the householders themselves. It is not, however, clear whether the payment was arranged by the parents or guardians jointly out of the common funds collected at a certain fixed rate, or whether the householder in whose house the classes were arranged, being in a position to incur the whole expense, himself undertook to bear it on behalf of all the children. Our evidence is clear on this point that the children who received their education in these family-schools also included those who did not belong to the house and who must surely have been gathered from the neighbourhood. Another interesting reference in this connection is when Kalhaṇa speaks of Phālguṇa, the prime minister of Abhimanyu of Yaśaskara's family (A.D. 958-72) when, after his dismissal, he proceeded to Parṇotsa, the ministers rejoiced as boys when left by their teacher.[3] One is reminded of similar pictures of the classrooms and students in modern schools. The reference may also suggest the use of corporal punishment in disciplining the boys. The age for starting education appears to have been small.[4] Girls are nowhere mentioned as attending such schools. Alberūnī tells us that initial training in learning the letters and calligraphy was done on black coloured wooden slate which is even at present prevalent in Indian schools.[5] The cases of Suyya and Yaśaskara also

[1] *Rājat.*, V.74-78.

[2] *Ibid.*, V.469-75.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI.209.

[4] Cf. *Alberūnī's India*, vol. II, p. 188. Alberūnī also tells that at the age of five, the Hindu child was placed in the charge of *guru*, a spiritual preceptor who looked after him until he reached the next stage of life.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. I. p. 182.

make it clear to us that of Kashmir in medieval times in the case of education as of kingship and the offices of state, the field was not limited to specific castes. Anybody who could prove himself competent enough could rise to any position.

The *Manusmṛti* provides that the three twice-born castes *(varṇas)* discharging their prescribed duties should study the Veda but among them the Brahmins alone should teach it, not the other two.[1] It appears that the study of Vedas and its teaching may have been limited to the Brahmins while there was no restriction for anyone to study and teach secular subjects.

Kṣemendra tells us that he studied rhetoric under Abhinavagupta, the author of *Vidyāvivṛti*; Gaṅgaka and Somapāda (a believer in the Bhāgavata faith) were also his teachers. Dr. Suryakanta's suggestion that Kṣemendra may have had other teachers as well, with whom he may have studied different branches of literature[2] and who were specialists in them, appears to be possible, because Kṣemendra shows himself to have been concerned with the stages of learning where pupils were in the making as poets and not as students in the early stages. The general schools arranged by the householders must have been concerned with teaching the students ordinary reading and writing while great scholars like Kṣemendra's teachers and Kṣemendra himself must have been concerned with learning in its higher forms. Whether they had special organised schools for this level or took individual students under their guidance is not clear from our sources, nor is it stated anywhere whether the scholars were paid by their pupils or imparted education for the sake of the dissemination of learning for its own sake. As the kings also patronised learning in Kashmir these scholars might have possibly depended on the grant of *agrahāra* lands and their produce.[3]

Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, Kalhaṇa, Maṅkha and Abhinavagupta, to cite a few examples, do not in any way appear to be connected with *vihāras* and *maṭhas*.

The varied fields of learning in which the writers of our

[1] *Manu.*, ch. I, v. 88; ch. X, vs. 1, 75-76.

[2] Suryakanta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, p. 11.

[3] *Supra*, p. 178

period attained proficiency bear testimony to a very high standard prescribed for the students at that time in Kashmir. King Lalitāditya showed great interest in patronising scholars even from outside Kashmir. The greatest achievement in the field of Śaivite learning and philosophy was made by the two families whom this king brought from Kānyakubja (Kanauj) and settled in Kashmir with a grant of *agrahāra* lands.[1] Though the tenth and eleventh centuries brought forth a large body of literature in the field of Śaivite religion and philosophy, that was not the only sphere in which the Kashmirians attained great heights. Side by side with the highest literature on the abstruce Śaivite philosophy, we have the development of language and literature in grammar, poetics, history *(itihāsa)* and rhetoric. The chief of Bilhaṇa's family, Muktikalaśa, was learned in the four Vedas. One of his ancestors, Jyeṣṭhakalaśa, composed an exposition of the *Mahābhāṣya*.[2] Bilhaṇa, though he became *vidyāpati* at the court of Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (A.D. 1076-1127), received his early education in Kashmir and obtained proficiency in the Vedas with their *aṅgas*, grammar and poetics.[3] His example shows that, proficient in learning, the Kashmirian Brahmins often went out to the rest of India in quest of fame and fortune. In this connection we refer to a verse in the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* where it is specifically stated that those who do not learn the dress, manners and speech of other lands are like bulls without horns.[4]

Among the greatest luminaries of the age was Kṣemendra who tried to write in every branch of language and literature, conforming to his own ideals of the branches of learning a scholar was supposed to know of, and touching all the varied fields and aspects of the society of his day. His works also show that the great teachers of those days did not believe only in textbook theories, but tried to encourage originality by putting

[1] *Infra*, Appendix III.

[2] *Vikramāṅka.*, XVIII.79.

[3] *Ibid.*, XVIII.75, 82ff.

[4] *Kuṭṭ.*, v. 211 :

deśāntareṣu veṣasvabhāvabhaṇitāni ye na budhyante |
samupāsate na ca gurūn viṣāṇavikalāsta ukṣāṇaḥ ||

before their pupils compositions of their own, and comparing them with those of the earlier writers of their own land as well as those of the rest of India. Kşemendra has thus criticised and praised the skill of a number of earlier writers. The vast list of authors that he mentions and criticises in his *Aucityavicāracarcā*, *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Suvṛttatilaka*[1] shows the wide reading which he had done with a critical mind. He has also given us the summaries of the Epics, a number of works on all the aspects of society with bitter satire on its evils, and also fine pieces like *Samayamātṛkā* and *Kalāvilāsa* revealing his thorough mastery of the science of erotics.

After paying homage to the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu, and then to Vyāsa, Kşemendra tells us that he has composed for his intelligent students, *Suvṛttatilaka*,[2] ("the forehead mark of fine metres") of charming letters, a decoration for the face of the goddess of learning, and a decorative mark of bright pigment on her forehead. This is an original work on metres which illustrates each point that Kşemendra makes with quotations

[1] The authors quoted in the *Aucityavicāracarcā* are Amaraka, Ānandavardhana, Kārpaṭika, Kālidāsa, Kumāradāsa, Gaṅgaka, Gauḍakumbhākāra, Cakra, Candraka, Caṇḍaka, Dīpaka, Dharmakīrti, Parimal, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, Bhaṭṭaprabhākara, Bhaṭṭendurāja, Bhavabhūti, Māgha, Mātṛgupta, Mālavakuvalaya, Mālavarudra, Muktāpīḍa, Yaśovarmadeva, Rājaśekhara, Laṭṭa, Laṭṭana, Varāhamihira, Vyāsa, Śyāmala, Śrīmatupalarāja, Śrīharşa.

Authors quoted in the *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* are Amaraka, Āryabhaṭṭa, Indrabhānu, Utpalarājadeva, Cakrapāla, Candraka, Bhaṭṭadāmodaragupta, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, Bhaṭṭabāṇa, Bhaṭṭabhallaṭa, Bhaṭṭamayūra, Bhaṭṭamuktikalaśa, Bhaṭṭavācaspati, Bhaṭṭaśrīśivasvāmī, Bhaṭṭodayasiṁha, Rājaśekhara, Lakşmaṇāditya, Vidyānanda, Vyāsa and Śrīharşa.

Authors quoted in the *Suvṛttatilaka* are Abhinanda, Indurāja, Utpalarāja, Kalaśaka, Kālidāsa, Gaṇḍinaka, Cakra, Tuñjina, Dīpaka, Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, Parimala, Bāṇa, Bhartṛmeṇṭha, Bhartṛhari, Bhavabhūti, Bhāravi, Muktākaṇa, Yaśovarman, Ratnākara, Rājaśekhara, Rissu, Lātaḍiṇḍira, Vallaṭa, Vāgbhaṭa, Vīradeva, Vyāsa, Śyāmala, Sāhil, Harşa.

Note : The above list has been prepared out of the index of verses quoted in the above works of Kşemendra, prepared by Dr. Suryakanta in his *Kşemendra Studies*.

[2] *Suvṛtta.*, ch. I, v. 4.

from his other works, or from those of Vyāsa. After giving the definitions and illustrations of popular metres, he takes up the exposition of their merits and demerits with illustrations from various authors. The same method is adopted by him in his 'discourse on propriety' *(Aucityavicāracarcā)*. In the *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Kṣemendra instructs his pupils in the art of writing poetry. About the author's own skill Suryakanta writes[1] "a study of Kṣemendra's works reveals that they were written in accordance with the doctrines propounded in his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*; for instance, his didactic poems, the *Samayamātṛkā*, the *Kalāvilāsa*, the *Darpadalana*, the *Sevyasevakopadeśa*, and the *Cārucaryāśataka*, illustrate his *lokācāraparijñāna* (*Kavi.*, II.6), i.e., 'familiarity with the ways of the world', and *upadeśaviśeṣokti* (*Kavi.*, II.16), i.e., 'special didactic skill'. His epitomes of the Epics and the *Nṛpāvali* bear testimony to the fact that he was pursuing the principle of *itihāsānusaraṇam* (*Kavi.*, II.6), i.e. 'accordance with history'. In his *Daśāvatāracarita*, he illustrates his *sāmyaṁ sarvasurastutau* (*Kavi.*, II.19), i.e. 'impartiality in the praise of all deities' and so on."

Kalhaṇa also shows marked originality in his work. Kashmir had no doubt a tradition of historical writing even before Kalhaṇa's time, but such a work as his does not seem to have existed before, nor do we find the later chronicles in any way coming up to the same standard.[2] We find evidence of his belief in original composition when he says: "Poets and kings of these modern times augment their own work by plundering the poems or the property of others."[3]

FOOD AND DRINKS

The staple food of the people of Kashmir in medieval times, as it is now, was rice *(dhānya, śāli, taṇḍula, vrīhi, kalama, akṣata)*.[4] Plain boiled rice formed the principal food of the

[1] Suryakanta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, p. 2.

[2] *Infra*, Appendix III.

[3] *Rājat.*, V.160.

[4] Stein, *Rājat*, vol. II, pp. 427ff.; Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 319. Also *Rājat.*, I.246 *(dhānya)*; II.18; III.22; IV.295; V.71, 116-17; VII.496 *(vrihi)*; *Sam. Māt.*, II.78 *(taṇḍula)*; *N. Mālā.*, ch. III, v. 5; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 748-49;

people. There is a mention of rice-flour also in the *Rājatarangiṇī* and in the *Narmamālā*.[1] Cakes of rice are referred to in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.[2] Barley *(yava)* formed another item of food. It is mentioned in the *Rājatarangiṇī* and *Nīlamatapurāṇa* that bread and cake *(apūpa* and *piṣṭaka)* were made from barley.[3]

Kashmir produces enough beans and pulses to meet the needs of its inhabitants and though they are not considered the principal food in the Valley at present, they must have constituted then, as now, an important item of food. Dāmodaragupta mentions *kulattha* (Delichos Bilflorus), *caṇa* (Cicer Arietinum) and *masūra* (Lens Esculenta).[4] The *Rājatarangiṇī* also mentions lentils *(masūra)*. The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* too refers to *māṣa* (Phaseolus Radiatus) and *masūra*.[5] Among cheap variety of pulses was *mudga (Phaseolus Mungo)*, now known in Kashmir as *mung*.[6] It is said that King Utkarṣa served this to his father's wives because of his avariciousness. It is also mentioned by Kṣemendra in his *Narmamālā* as one of the cheap items of food.[7] Kalhaṇa also mentions porridge *(saktu)*.[8] *Karambhaka*, rice and pulses mixed together (now known as *khicarī*), was served on certain religious days and was also given to the Brahmins.[9] *Parpaṭa* made of pulses appears to be the modern *pāpaḍa*, which, though eaten in Kashmir even at present, is not made there, but is imported.[10] Sesamum *(tila)* was also eaten, especially on certain days such as Tiladvādaśī, which is named after the grain held in honour on that day.[11]

Deśopadeśa, VIII.36; *Kuṭṭ.*, v. 228; *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 6; *ibid.*, J. Bloch (tr.), Notes, p. iv *(kalama)*.

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.140; *N. Mālā.*, ch. III, v. 3.

[2] *Nīlamata.*, vs. 415, 470, 502. 680.

[3] *Rājat.*, IV.228 *(apūpa)*; VII.111 *(āpūpikā)*; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 499-505, 696-97 *(yava)*.

[4] *Kuṭṭ.*, v. 228.

[5] *Nīlamata.*, v. 422.

[6] *Rājat.*, VII.758; *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, v. 124; *Nīlamata.*, v. 535.

[7] *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, vs. 124, 127.

[8] *Rājat.*, I.205; *Nīlamata.*, v. 754.

[9] Pandit, R. S., *Rājat.*, III.256, note; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 484-91.

[10] *Nīlamata.*, v. 529.

[11] *Rājat.*, III.426; V.395. For Tiladvādaśī, see Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, V.395, note; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 482-83.

Though there is not much mention of vegetables in our sources, we believe that Kashmir must have produced abundant vegetables in the past as in the present. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions a wild vegetable of bitter taste known as *utpalaśāka* (now called *upalhakh)* which was placed by the temple priests of Bhūteśvara on the base of the god's image as an offering, since they were too impoverished to offer something better owing to the overbearing behaviour of the Ḍāmara Dhanva of Lahara, who had taken away all the villages belonging to the shrine.[1] *Śāka* (green vegetables) is also mentioned in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* and by Kṣemendra in the *Samayamātṛkā*.[2] The lotus stalks *(bisa)* was an important vegetable cooked by the Kashmirians in medieval times, and it is a very common item of food even at present.[3] Onion was commonly used in cooking and as an offering to the Tāntric *gurus*. In the *Samayamātṛkā*, onion *(palāṇḍu)* and garlic *(laṣuna)* are mentioned as aphrodisiacs.[4] Garlic, as we have seen, was an article forbidden for the Brahmins.[5] Parched grain is often mentioned in connection with auspicious occasions.[6] Though it is nowhere mentioned that it formed an item of food, we find that parched beans are eaten by the masses even at present. Grains covered with *guḍa* (treacle) are also referred to in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.[7]

Salt appears to have been a costly article. In his description of a miser in the *Deśopadeśa* and the *Narmamālā*, Kṣemendra repeatedly refers to him as eating his food without salt.[8] Though the article is in itself not a very costly one, its transportation from the Salt Range of the Punjab must have involved great difficulty, thus raising its price in the Valley. Kṣemendra refers to Pir Panjal route as the Salt-road.[9] Kalhaṇa mentions

[1] *Rājat.*, V.48-52.

[2] *Nīlamata.*, vs. 415, 436, 708; *Sam. Māt.*, VIII.80.

[3] *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, v. 124; *Rājat.*, VIII.676. Lotus-roots are stewed with meat also.

[4] *Sam. Māt.*, II. 26; *Deśopadeśa*, III.32; *Rājat.*, VIII.143.

[5] *Rājāt.*, I.342-43; cf. *Yājña.*, I.176; *Manu.*, ch. V, vs. 5, 19.

[6] *Rājat.*, I.367; II.119.

[7] *Nīlamata.*, v. 494.

[8] *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, v. 127; *Deśopadeśa*, II.8, 9, 15.

[9] *Sam. Māt.*, II.90-91; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 395.

salt, pepper and asafoetida *(hiṅgu)* as difficult to hear of during a famine.[1] Ginger *(ārdraka)* is mentioned by Kṣemendra as a prized article which was also used together with honey for medicinal purposes.[2] It is mentioned by Kalhaṇa that a foreign trader sold betel-leaves with *nāgarakhaṇḍa* and other ingredients. As stated by Stein it is not clear what is meant by the term *nāgarakhaṇḍa* and as further pointed out by him ginger is called *nāgara*, but it is not used as an ingredient of betel. It may not have been used as an ingredient of betel but *nāgara* (ginger or dried *ārdraka*) seems to have been imported with other condiments for we find that the use of spices is very common in Kashmir even at present.[3] We feel that by *khaṇḍa*[4] Kalhaṇa refers to raw sugar which also must have been imported and therefore a prized article, as sugar-cane was not and is not grown in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa ridicules the citizens and Ḍāmaras, some of whom when plundering King Harṣa's palace put camphor in their mouths, thinking it was white sugar.[5] Sugar was, however, used for sweetening food.[6] *Nīlamatapurāṇa* also mentions *guḍa* (treacle) and *śarkarā* (white sugar).[7] Pepper Nigrum *(marica)* and turmeric were well known as condiments.[8] Kalhaṇa often mentions highly spiced dishes enjoyed by the courtiers of the Kashmir kings. They were thus luxury articles enjoyed by few. The masses at large could not have been able to use them in their cooking. Honey was also a

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1221. Asafoetida is found in Astor Tehsil (*Imp. Gaz.*, vol. XV., p. 86). It is called Bāhlīka in Indian sources showing that it was imported from Afghanistan. See Om Prakash, *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, p. 146, note 4.

[2] *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, v. 123; *Rājat.*, VIII.141; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 494, 760.

[3] *Rājat.*, VII.194; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.194, note; Younghusband, F., *Kashmir*, pp. 219-21.

[4] For *khaṇḍa* see *Arthaśāstra.*, Bk. II, ch. 15. Cf. Om Prakash, *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, p. 91, note 7; p. 144, note 3; p. 179. For *nāgara*, see Om Prakash. *op. cit.*, p. 146, note 6; p. 147, note 5.

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.1574. As suggested by P. Niyogi, camphor was probably brought from Malaya and Sumatra to the ports of Sind to be carried to other places. (Niyogi, P., *op. cit.*, p. 157.)

[6] *N. Mālā.*, ch. II, v. 80.

[7] *Nīlamata.*, vs. 494, 708.

[8] *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, v. 123; *Nīlamata.*, v. 722.

cherished article and was used for food and medicinal purposes.[1]

Milk formed an important item of food. We get references to the special reverence for cows and the gifts of cows with calves by the kings to the Brahmins.[2] The use of purified butter *(ghṛta)*,[3] butter *(sarpis)*,[4] milk pudding *(kṣīra, kṣīriṇī)*[5] and curd *(dadhi)*[6] seem to have been prevalent. *Ghṛta* was mostly used for sacrificial fires and *śrāddha* rites and as a luxury article for the preparation of food. *Tāmbūla* (betel-leaves) are mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a very popular item.[7] King Ananta (A.D. 1028-69) was so fond of taking betel-leaves that he is said to have spent almost the whole revenue in procuring them. Kalhaṇa here seems to refer to the high price which it must have entailed. As stated by P. Niyogi : "Bengal and Malabar being the most important betel-leaf growing regions in India, it may be surmised that the commodity came to Kashmir from those lands and sold at exhorbitant rates."[8] According to the 'Dictionary of Economic Products of India' (vol. VI (i), pp. 247-56), the betel-leaf is probably a native of Java.

Kṣemendra tells us that oil was used for cooking.[9] Though he does not mention the specific kind of oil used in his time, we believe it to be the mustard oil commonly used for cooking purposes in Northern India.

Meat has been a common item of food of Kashmir Brahmins since very early times. The meat of rams *(meṣa)* and perhaps also of the goats *(chāga)* is mentioned in our sources.[10]

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.140-41; *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, v. 123; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 503, 691.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.955, 1414; VIII.76, 2405.

[3] *Rājat.*, II.78; VI.143; VII.306; VIII.137, 140; *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, vs. 123, 127; ch. III, v. 5; *Sam. Māt.*, II.26, 79; *Deśopadeśa*, III.32; VI.30; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 478, 787.

[4] *Rājat.*, VI.143; VIII.140.

[5] *Sam. Māt.*, II.26 *(kṣīra)*; *Deśopadeśa*, VI.30 *(kṣīriṇī)*; *Nīlamata.*, v. 490.

[6] *N. Mālā.*, ch. II, v. 80; ch. III, v. 8; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 754, 790.

[7] *Rājat.*, IV.427; VII.544, 787, 1067; VIII.1736, 1947; *Nīlamata.*, v. 864; *Vikramāṅka.*, X.38.

[8] Niyogi, P., *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India*, p. 33.

[9] *Sam. Māt.*, VIII.79-80.

[10] *Sam. Māt.*, II.74; *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, v. 124; ch. III, v. 8; *Rājat.*, VIII. 1866-67.

The meat of birds was also eaten;[1] that of the pigeons, however, seems to have been forbidden. Kalhaṇa while narrating the story of a famine in Kashmir during the time of the legendary King Tuñjīna tells us that the pious Queen, distressed by the sufferings of the subjects, prayed to gods and there fell on each house daily a flight of dead pigeons. He explains this fact by saying that they were not real pigeons but some other substance which this lady of saintly character produced in order to keep the people alive.[2] There is no mention of the meat of the fowls. As it is a forbidden food for the orthodox Paṇḍitas at present, we believe that it was not eaten by the Brahmins in the past. S. C. Ray is wrong in saying that it was an item of Kashmir cuisine in Medieval Kashmir.[3] Kashmiri Brahmins also do not eat eggs. Even taking any sort of poultry into the kitchen is prohibited in the orthodox families. Alberūnī also mentions that eggs of all kinds and tame poultry are forbidden as articles of food in North-Western India.[4] In this connection it is interesting to note that Tibetans as well as Ladakhis do not permit the eating of fowl. Eating of beef of all kinds was strictly forbidden by the Kashmiris, as cows were respected and given as gifts to pious Brahmins. Kalhaṇa mentions with contempt those who ate cow's meat in the land of the Mlecchas.[5] As the bullock was held in great reverence there must have been a similar ban on eating its meat. King Harṣa is said to have eaten the meat of domesticated pigs *(grāmyaśūkaras)*. It is not clear whether this formed a common item of Kashmiri food at that time or whether his love of pork was a further example of the various perverted actions of the king. Kalhaṇa, however, mentions it as an example of the extraordinary behaviour of the king, who was otherwise favourably inclined towards the Turuṣka soldiers of his army and constantly supported them.[6]

[1] *Rājat.*, II.50-52; *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, v. 124.

[2] *Rājat.*, II.52. Cf. *Padmapurāṇa*, I. LVI.

[3] Ray, H. C., *IHC*, 1949, p. 134. Cf. Medhātithi on *Manu.*, Discourse V, v. 12.

[4] Cf. *Alberūnī's India*, vol. II, p. 151.

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.1232.

[6] *Ibid.*, VII.1149ff.

These were presumably Muslims and must have looked on the king's love of pork with abhorrence. The Kashmiris at present do not eat pork. Fried meat was a luxury enjoyed by the higher strata of society.[1]

The eating of meat is strictly prohibited in the *Nīlamata-purāṇa* for five days for those who are engaged in the consecration of Viṣṇu images in the bright half of the month of Kārtika *(ekādaśī* to *purṇimā*—11th to the full moon-day).[2] On the other hand meat is prescribed for celebrating the dark eighth of the month of Māgha *(māghakṛṣṇāṣṭamī)*. It is enjoined that the *śrāddha* on that day should be performed with meat. The offerings to *piśācas* and the goddess Kāli constituted of non-vegetarian dishes.[3]

It would appear from these references that the habits of the Hindu Kashmiris in respect of meat-eating were much the same in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as they are to-day, when beef, pork and chicken are avoided, but there is little or no objection to the consumption of mutton, goat's meat or fish. Fish forms an important item of the food of all classes of people in Kashmir at present especially of the boatmen who depend for a considerable part of their food on fish and of those who dwell near the streams and the lakes. There are numerous references in all our medieval literary sources to fried fish and fish soup *(matsyāpūpa, matsyāyūṣa* and *matsyasūpa)* as health-giving foods.[4] It must have constituted an important item of food of all the classes in medieval times; and from different kinds of fish being available in their seasons throughout the entire course of the river Jhelum (Vitastā) between Islamabad (Anantanaga) and Baramula (Varāhamūla),[5] we believe that it

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1510; VIII.1866-67, 2251.

[2] *Nīlamata.*, vs. 446-47.

[3] *Ibid.*, vs. 469, 550, 556, 787. Cf. *Manu.*, ch. V, vs. 22, 23, 31, 41-42.

[4] *Rājat.*, VII.522; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.522, note; *Sam. Māt.*, II.26, 49, 71; *Deśopadeśa*, III.32.

[5] Lawrence, *Valley*, pp. 157-58 : Vigne noted only six varieties of fish, by far the best being Himalayan trout, while Lawrence had noted eleven different varieties known as *charri* gad (gad is Kashmiri name for fish), *sattar* gad, *krout* gad, *pikut* or *pekri* gad, *chash* gad, *harj* gad, *ramah* gad, *unyour* gad, *tet* gad, *dras* and *ait* gad. A small fish called *gūrun* is found

must have formed a great proportion of the food of the poorer classes in Kashmir.

Among the fruits Hiuen Tsang mentions pears (Li), wild plums (Nai), peaches (T'au), apricots (Hang or Mui) and grapes (Po-tau) as the principal fruits of the Valley.[1] *Pālevata* mentioned by Kalhaṇa, is believed by Stein to be the apple on the testimony of the Kashmiri Paṇḍits.[2] Apples grow so plentifully in Kashmir at present that it would be surprising if they were not known in Lohara times, especially as many of the other fruits of Kashmir had already become acclimatized. Pears *(tanka)* and apricots are also mentioned by Śrīvara.[3] The pomegranates *(dāḍima)* are mentioned in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.[4] The *Rājatarańgiṇī* also mentions *kapittha* fruit in connection with the various stories related regarding the great King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. A certain verse, from which it is clear that Kalhaṇa meant to refer to a fruit which grows in Kashmir only for a short time at the commencement of the summer and is rare in India, led Stein to conclude that the reference is to the cherries which are obtainable in Kashmir only in the beginning of the summer. As Kashmir grows various varieties of cherries at present which are exported to the rest of India by air owing to their perishable nature, we believe Stein to be quite correct in taking *kapittha* as a cherry rather than the elephant apple as mentioned in the dictionaries of economic products.[5] The best

in the streams and morasses.

[1] Beal, S., *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 88; Watters, T., *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 177-78. Mulberry *(tul)*, bitter cherry *(alucha)*, plum *(ār)*, apple *(tsunt)*, pear *(tang)*, vine *(dach)*, walnut *(dūn)*, pomegranate *(dān)* and berries of various kinds are indigenous and are found in all parts of the Valley. Cf. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 73. The cherry called the *gilās*, a corruption of cerasus, is said to have been introduced from Europe via Arabia, Iran and Afghanistan. Also cf. Sufi, *Kashīr*, vol. II, p. 651.

[2] *Rājat.*, VI.356; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VI.356, note. Also see Om Prakash, *op. cit.*, Appendix VI, p. 270, item no. 61. *Pārāvata* (a kind of apple, Hindi—*Pālevat*) is mentioned in Caraka and other medical works. It was grown in Assam.

[3] *Śrivara.*, I.196.

[4] *Nīlamata.*, v. 416.

[5] *Rājat.*, IV.219, 220, 222, 237; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, IV.219, note; *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 53; also see *Śukra*, ch. IV, sec. 4, lines 95-102.

and the most cherished fruit of the Valley was and still is the grape. Kalhaṇa proudly refers to it.[1] Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* praises the vines of his homeland. Kṣemendra also mentions it in the *Narmamālā*.[2] The juice of grapes and sugar-cane was used as a drink.[3] Next to grapes the *Lokaprakāśa* mentions walnuts *(akṣoṭaphalam)*.[4] Almonds *(vātāma)* though commonly grown in Kashmir are not mentioned in our sources.[5]

Wine drinking *(madyapāna)* was very common in Medieval Kashmir.[6] The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* has a special prescription for wine drinking *(navamadyapāna)* on the day when the first snow falls[7]—presumably drinking the new wine from the last summer's grapes. King Lalitāditya drank so heavily that once in a fit of intoxication he ordered the town of Pravarapura to be burnt down.[8] King Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-58) also indulged in excessive drinking.[9] Among the kings of the Lohara dynasty, we do not find much reference to wine drinking on the part of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63) and Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49), but Harṣa, Kalaśa and Utkarṣa drank heavily. The Brahmin élite do not seem to have approved of it and both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa deprecate excessive wine drinking, while on the other hand soldiers, Ḍāmaras, the class of prostitutes, bawds and parasites freely enjoyed it.[10] Those who followed the Śākta religion also drank wine, because it forms one of the five

[1] *Rājat.*, I.42; IV.192; VII.498; cf. VIII.1866, 2386 *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 53; Moorcroft. (*Travels*, vol. II, p. 150) mentions eighteen to twenty varieties of grapes.

[2] *Vikramāṅka.*, XVIII.72; *N. Mālā*, ch. I, v. 124.

[3] *Rājat.*, II.60; IV.501; VII.1220; VIII.1866-67; cf. Beal, S., *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 89. The *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 10, mentions an instrument for extracting sugar-cane juice.

[4] *Lokaprakāśa*, p. 53; *N. Mālā*. I.124.

[5] According to George Watt's *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, almond went from Persia to Asia Minor. See Om Prakash, *op. cit.*, Appendix VI, p. 272.

[6] *Rājat.*, V.358; VIII.1866.

[7] *Nīlamata.*, vs. 465, 675.

[8] *Rājat.*, IV.310-11.

[9] *Ibid.*, VI.150.

[10] *Cāru.*, p. 11; *N. Mālā*, ch. I, vs. 131, 136, 139; ch. II, vs. 107. Cf. *kuṭṭ.*, vs. 413-14; *MBh. (Śāntiparvan)*, ch. LXXVIII, vs. 4-5.

makāras[1] enjoined by the Tāntric ritual. In some of the families of Brahmins in Kashmir the worship on the Śivarātri festival (worship of Śiva on the dark 14th of the month of Phālguṇa) was carried on with wine. The followers of Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava sects perhaps did not take wine, since these two sects developed strong and more puritanical views on such matters than the Śaivites and the Tāntricists.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

We get some information about the dress worn by the people of Kashmir from references in Kalhaṇa's work as well as in those of Kṣemendra. The dress worn by the male population was a lower garment *(adharāṅśuka)*, an upper garment *(aṅgarakṣaka)* and turban *(śiraḥśāṭa)*. The usual garment referred to in the *Rājataraṅgṇī* is the long cloak *(prāvāra)*, which even at present forms the principal type of dress worn by all the classes in Kashmir, and by both men and women.[2]

The dress of the female population as it is seen in the terracotta tiles from Harvan appears to have also consisted of tight fitting trousers;[3] while the image of goddess Lakṣmī is seen wearing garments very much like the modern saree.[4] In Kashmir the women of the Paṇḍita class wear either long cloaks or the saree.

The material used in the making of the cloaks must have been the thick woollens for Kalhaṇa refers to the *pāriṣadyas*, the Brahmins of the *purohita* corporations, as carrying thick woollen garments *(sthūlakambalavāhinaḥ)*.[5] The kings are also said to have donated gifts of antelope skins to the Brahmins.[6] King Harṣa, as already noted, introduced elegant court costumes after the fashions prevalent in the south and the ladies in his seraglio wore costly garments.[7] Earlier it is

[1] For five *makāras* see *infra*, chapter VI.
[2] *Rājat.*, IV.435; VIII.1310; *N. Mālā.*, ch. I, v.72; *Deśopadeśa*, II.14.
[3] Plate III.
[4] Plate V.
[5] *Rājat.*, V.461.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.955; VIII.2405.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII.881-3, 895, 928-31.

mentioned that the dress worn by the young son of an officer constituted of clothes dyed with saffron having gold borders.[1] This perhaps refers to gold embroidery work which is a prized craft even now.

Though Kṣemendra refers to silk dress[2] also, it is not stated whether they were made of the silk yarn and material prepared in Kashmir itself or whether they were imported from outside. Cīnāṅśuka, however, appears to refer to silk imported from China.[3]

Both males and females in Kashmir wore ornaments. The ornaments of men were usually ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets and finger-rings.[4] Thus a saffron merchant's son is described by Kṣemendra as wearing an ear-ornament *(karṇābharaṇa-kāñcanam)* and small gold finger-rings *(hemavālakavālikā)*.[5] King Jayāpīḍa wore finger-rings and had bracelets with his name engraved on them, one of which fell into the mouth of a lion that he is said to have killed in Gauḍa.[6] Men also wore ornamental ear-rings known as *kuṇḍala*, like those of the ladies, and gold chains *(śṛṅkhalā)*.[7]

King Harṣa of the Lohara dynasty (A.D. 1089-1101) introduced elegant fashions of dress and ornaments from South India. It is said that before his time nobody in the land of Kashmir except the king was allowed to wear a head-dress and ear-ornaments. His courtiers are described as appearing in his presence with waving palm leaves and adorned with big fore-head marks of sandal ointment.[8] On Kṣemendra's evidence we know that men in Kashmir before King Harṣa's time also wore ornaments and from Kalhaṇa's statement we understand that it was only in the presence of the kings that ornaments were for-

[1] *Kuṭṭ.*, vs. 61-70, 344.
[2] *Sam. Māt.*, VI.16.
[3] *Nīlamata.*, v. 335.
[4] *Rājat.*, III.241; IV.349-52; VII.876-78ff.; *Kuṭṭ.*, vs. 717-18; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 334, 765, 1204.
[5] *Sam. Māt.*, II.10-11; VII.13ff.
[6] *Rājat.*, IV.440, 458.
[7] *Sam. Māt.*, II.51; *Rājat.*, IV.720; V.373.
[8] *Rājat.*, VII.921ff.

bidden.

The ornaments worn by women were chains or necklaces *(hāra, śṛṅkhalā, sūtrikā, mālikā)*,[1] wristlets *(kaṅkaṇa)*, armlets *(keyūra)*, bracelets *(pārihārya)*,[2] ear-rings *(valayayugalam, tāḍiyugam, tāḍidala, karṇikā, karṇakuṇḍala)*,[3] girdles *(kāñcī, mekhalā)*[4] and anklets *(nūpura)*.[5] In *Samayamātṛkā*, Kṣemendra uses the term *strīdhana* for ornaments (VIII. 65). The women of ordinary means wore ornaments of shells and silver *(vidruma-mālikā, tāḍiyugamarājatam)*,[6] while women of poor classes had even earthen ear-rings.[7] In the time of King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) his ladies twined golden strings in the ends of their locks, in their hair-braids they had golden *tilaka*-leaf ornaments and on their foreheads pendants, which made their forehead marks unsteady.[8]

Various unguents for decorating and perfuming the body were saffron *(kuṁkuma)*,[9] camphor *(karpūra)* and sandalwood paste *(candana)*.[10] The use of saffron as an unguent is repeatedly referred to as a royal privilege.[11] Collyrium was used for the decoration of the eyes. The ladies of King Harṣa's seraglio made the line of collyrium *(añjana)* join the corners of the eyes to the ears.[12] Women's feet were coloured with red lac *(yāvakāhāriṇau pādau)*.[13] They also made forehead marks *(tamālapattra)*.[14] In the earlier books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there is only one

[1] *Sam. Māt.*, II.51, 70, 73; VIII.34; *Rājat.*, V.257; 356-69; *N. Mālā.*, I.144.

[2] *Rājat.*, V.359.

[3] *Sam. Māt.*, II.70; III.37; *Rājat.*, III.326; IV.720; V.359, 373.

[4] *Sam. Māt.*, I.14; III.37; VI.6.

[5] *Rājat.*, I.206-9.

[6] *Sam. Māt.*, II.70.

[7] *N. Mālā* , I.75.

[8] *Rājat.*, VII.928-31.

[9] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VI.120, note.

[10] *Sam. Māt.*, I.14; VII.10; various kinds of *candana* are mentioned in the *Nīlamata.*, vs. 417, 423, 787.

[11] *Rājat.*, VIII.1119, 1897, 3166.

[12] *Sam. Māt.*, I.6, 13; II.59; *Rājat* , VII.929. *Nīlamata* recommends *añjana* as an offering to the Goddesses, vs. 334, 494, 761.

[13] *Rājat.*, III.415.

[14] *Ibid.*, III.326; VII.928.

reference to the decoration of the hair of the ladies with flowers; Harṣa, however, is stated to have introduced *dākṣiṇātya* fashions and the coiffure during his reign is said as decorated with golden strings.[1]

In the very first book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Kalhaṇa mentions saffron *(kuṅkuma)* and grapes among the things that even in the heaven are difficult to find but are common there.[2] The only area where saffron is grown at present is Pampur (ancient Padmapura). Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śuka also mention the village of Pampur as the only locality where saffron was grown in their time.[3] This account is corroborated by that of Abul-Fazl who tells us that in the time of Akbar, there were 10,000 or 12,000 *bīghās* of land covered with saffron, which "afford a prospect that would enchant the most fastidious."[4] Lawrence noted 4,527 acres of saffron land within a distance of fifteen miles from Srinagar, near Pampur.[5] The Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa has also praised his birth-place Khonamuṣa, the modern village of Khunamoh, situated about three miles to the north-west of Pampur, for its saffron cultivation.[6]

Saffron fields remain under cultivation for ten to fourteen years, during which period the number of corns originally sown is almost doubled. After the field has borne saffron for about ten years, the land remains fallow or is put under other crop, such as wheat or barley, for a period of about ten years.[7] The soil above Pampur is strong and excellent crops of wheat and barley grow there.[8] It is peculiar that saffron is grown only around Pampur, though it is noted by Lawrence that there is no special property in the Pampur soil which does not exist elsewhere in Kashmir. Many people attested in his time that

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.928-29.

[2] *Rājat.*, I.42; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 417, 494, 550; *Vikramāṅka.*, XVIII.72; *Amara.*, II.6, vs. 123-24.

[3] *Chaturthī.*, I.927ff.

[4] *Ain-i-Akbarī*, vol. II, pp. 357ff.

[5] Lawrence, *Valley*, p 343.

[6] *Vikramāṅka.*, XVIII.70-72.

[7] *Economic Development of Kashmir* (Papers on Indian States Development), ch.III, p. 50.

[8] Lawrence, *loc. cit.*

saffron had been grown in other places. We have, however, no record at present of saffron being grown at any other place.[1] Stein also pointed out that its cultivation was confined to this area only.[2] How its cultivation first started, we cannot tell with certainty. The legend is that it was first given out of gratitude to a physician resident at Padmapura by a *nāga* or water-deity in the time of King Lalitāditya. In fact, we have earlier references to it in Indian sources where it is mentioned as *kaśmīraja*. Chinese sources show it being imported from its habitat Kashmir into China during the third century A.D.[3] Commenting on Manu's verse about the royal monopolies, Medhātithi mentions saffron in Kashmir as a royal monopoly.[4]

TRANSPORTATION

In the very first book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa refers to the coming and going of boats in the river Vitastā.[5] After his rupture with his son Kalaśa, King Ananta proceeded by boat to Vijayakṣetra by way of this river.[6] King Kalaśa proceeded to die at Mārtaṇḍa temple by the water route.[7] Thus the river Vitastā (Jhelum) formed a great highway for movement within the valley.

Kings, queens and ministers and the courtiers used litters *(karṇīratha, yugya)* for movement from one place to another These litters were carried by men. We have dealt in detail on the litters.[8] Much of the travelling was done on foot. Alberūnī also refers to the pedestrian habits of the Kashmiris when he

[1] Lawrence. *Valley*, p. 343. Also see Watters, T., *Travels*, vol. I, p. 262; Moorcroft, *Travels*, vol. II, p. 152.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 428.

[3] Kosambi, D. D., *op. cit.*, p. 3. Vide B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919), pp. 309-23.

[4] Medhātithi on *Monu*, VIII. 399 (vol. IV, part II, p. 490 of Jha's ed. and tr.).

[5] *Rājat.*, I. 201-202; V. 84; VII. 387, 1628. The river Vitastā (Jhelum) is navigable without a single lock from Baramula to Khanabala, the port of Islamabad (Anantnag), a distance of 102 miles.

[6] *Ibid.*, VII.347.

[7] *Ibid.*. VII. 714.

[8] *Supra*, p. 120; *Rājat.*, VIII.940, 1572, 2298, 2308, 2636, 2673, 3168, *Sam Māt.*, VI.25-6.

writes, "The inhabitants of Kashmir are pedestrians; they have no riding animals nor elephants. The noble among them ride in palankins *(sic)* called *katt*, carried on the shoulders of men."[1] Such palanquins are seen on the hills of Kashmir, being engaged by those who cannot either walk on foot or ride the ponies. Horses were also used as a means of communication, perhaps by richer people as is apparent from their rare mention.[2]

The elephants, though occasionally mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, were apparently very rare and seem to have been used by the kings only.[3] As noted above, even Alberūnī pointed this out.

[1] *Alberūnī's India*, vol. I, p. 206.

[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.1572-73; Watters, T., *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 258, 262; *Ain-i-Akbarī*, vol. II, p. 350.

[3] *Rājat.*, III.327; VII.772, 1553-55.

CHAPTER SIX

RELIGION

In the following pages an attempt has been made to reconstruct the history and fundamentals of the religious ideas and practices prevalent in Kashmir under the Lohara kings. No such reconstruction is possible until we have a clear picture of the faiths of Kashmir as they existed before the advent of this dynasty. Religious ideas and practices do not change rapidly in India; moreover the change, when it does take place, does not so drastically alter the face of the existing faith that it is transformed beyond recognition. Here we agree with Eliot who wrote : "Though it would be easy to fill an encyclopaedia with the accounts of Indian beliefs and practices, yet there is often great similarity under the superficial differences; the main lines of thought are less numerous than they seem to be at first sight and they tend to converge."[1]

In Kashmir as in the rest of India, those ideas which existed in the earlier period continue during this period also, but with a marked development in Śaivism, which dominated the field, while Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism, though not ousted from the land and though tolerated by the kings and the public, appear to have lost their importance. A notable feature of the religious life, as in the other parts of India, is the spirit of toleration, and this spirit led to a catholicity which overrode narrow sectarian views.[2]

The most important and influential scripture of Kashmir Hinduism was and still is the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, believed to date from the sixth or seventh century A.D.[3] By the time about which we write, it was thought to be a text of great antiquity. The rites it prescribed are said to have been proclaimed by Nīla, the

[1] Eliot, C., *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. II, p. 135.

[2] Cf. Majumdar, R. C. (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 257.

[3] Bühler, *Report*, pp. 40-41; also see Kumari, Ved, *The Nilamatapurāṇa*, vol. I, pp. 9-14.

king of the Kashmir Nāgas and the protector of the land in the remote past,[1] and it was virtually looked on as the Bible of Kashmir. Thus when a religious point arises after the coronation of Yaśovatī, the third ruler of the Gonanda line of Kashmir, even the God Kṛṣṇa is depicted as quoting the authority of *Nīlamatapurāṇa* in support of the view that Kashmir is Pārvatī and its king a portion of Śiva.[2] Similarly when the religion of the land is said to have suffered at the hands of the Buddhists under the leadership of the great teacher Nāgārjuna, the worst sin of these heretics is said to have been their bringing to an end the performance of the rites proclaimed in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.[3] Further when Candradeva, a descendant of Kaśyapa, propitiated Nīla, the lord of the Kashmir Nāgas, who being angry at the suspension of the customary oblations because of Buddhist influence had sent down a destructive snowfall, the religion that was revealed to him anew was no other than that of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*. In fact this seems to be a garbled recollection that this Purāṇa was actually composed to combat Buddhism and that its author was actually a teacher of this period called Candradeva. The various religious rites of Kashmir supposed to have been revealed by Nīla, occupy about two-thirds of this Purāṇa.[4]

Kashmir has from times immemorial been a land of holy sites. Kalhaṇa says : "There is not a space as large as a sesamum without a *tīrtha*."[5] Alberūnī tells us that in his time Kashmir held the same position among holy places as Varanasi, Kurukshetra, etc.[6]

The people in ancient Kashmir were much given to the worship of the Nāgas or tutelary deities of springs and lakes. The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* provides a long list of Kashmir Nāgas and

[1] Bühler, *loc. cit.*; *Rājat.*, I.28.

[2] *Rājat.*, I.71-72; Kashmiri Paṇḍitas to this day follow the cult of *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (Kaul, G. L., *Kashmir through the Ages*, p. 26, note 1).

[3] *Rājat.*, I.178.

[4] *Ibid.*, I.183; *ibid.*, I.222-24 mentions Takṣakanāga as the prince of the Nāgas. *Cf. Vikramāṅka.*, XVIII.70.

[5] *Rājat.*, I.38.

[6] *Alberūnī's India*, vol. II, pp. 146-48.

puts their number at thousands.[1] Popular tradition looks upon Kashmir as the favourite residence of these deities, from the time when Kaśyapa, the father of the Nāgas, drained the lake of Satī (Satīsaras), and the Nāgas came to Kashmir for a refuge from Garuḍa.[2] Hiuen Tsang refers to these Nāgas as 'dragons' because they are represented in the form of serpents living like the Chinese dragons, in the water of the springs which they are supposed to protect.[3] The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* also contains verses describing the *tīrthas* connected with the worship of both Śiva and Viṣṇu. In a verse already quoted we find that even the god Kṛṣṇa is stated to have said that the land of Kashmir is Pārvatī and its king a portion of Śiva.[4] Thus Kṛṣṇa was thought by the Śaivas to have himself been a follower of Śaivism. Similar statements may be found in other Śaivite texts, and interpolations in the Epics and Purāṇas show that the medieval Śaivites often tried to adopt Vaiṣṇava tradition to their own purpose.[5]

About the ancient religion of Kashmir Wilson says : "The religion of Kashmir has in like manner been Hindu from a very remote date. Originally, no doubt, it was the Ophite or snake-worship, but this is a part of the Hindu ritual, and the Nāgas are included in the orthodox pantheon; the adoration of Śiva was soon ingrafted upon this, even if the two rites were not originally identified."[6] Snakes and snake deities figure quite important in the worship and traditional history of Kashmir. The extent and permanence of the superstition we may learn from Abul Fazl, who observes that "in seven hundred places there are carved figures of snakes which they worship."[7] Thus the religious history of Kashmir may be summarized in the words written by Wilson nearly a century and half ago, which

[1] *Nīlamata.*, vs. 881ff.; Vogel, J.Ph., *The Indian Serpent Lore*, pp. 220ff.

[2] *Nīlamata.*, v. 55.

[3] Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. I, p. 188.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 72, 263.

[5] Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, p. 55 (pp. 62-63, 2nd ed.).

[6] Wilson, H. H., *Essay*, p. 83.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 94; *Ain-i-Akbarī*, vol. II, p. 148; cf. Vogel, J. Ph., *loc. cit.*, the place named Anantnag is obviously associated with the name Ananta or Śeṣanāga as the most prominent among the Nāgas.

still hold good in most particulars despite later research : "If any conclusion might be drawn from such imperfect premises, it might be supposed, that the inhabitants of Cashmir *(sic)* originally followed an idolatrous system of their own, to which they superadded a few ill-defined gods and ceremonies, borrowed from the Brahmins of the plains; that whilst they were yet open to conversion, an attempt was made from the other side, or from Tartary, to introduce Buddhaism *(sic)* amongst them, which was combated and finally frustrated by southern assistance ; the national faith of Cashmir *(sic)* has ever since continued Hindu, and the almost exclusive form of adoration has been that addressed to Śiva and his Śacti *(sic)*."[1]

MATERIAL MANIFESTATIONS OF RELIGIOUS FERVOUR

The religious beliefs and the activities of the Kashmir kings led them to erect many religious foundations such as temples, *vihāras* and *maṭhas*. With a few exceptions all of them tried to do something or the other for the sake of religious merit. The advent of the Lohara dynasty was also the period of the growth and development of Kashmir Śaivism and of great literary activity both in its Tāntric and philosophical aspects. Earlier kings, in the period for which we have a reliable record, from Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa onwards (*c.*699-736 A.D.) built large *vihāras* and *maṭhas* and endowed *agrahāras* for their maintenance. King Lalitāditya built at Huṣkapura, (modern Ushkar), a splendid shrine of Viṣṇu called Muktasvāmin, and a large *vihāra* with a *stūpa*. He also built a lofty temple of stone for Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra and made grants of *agrahāra* villages. He built the wonderful Mārtaṇḍa temple and is credited with the erection at Parihāsapura (modern Paraspor) of several Viṣṇu images with the titles, Parihāsakeśava, Muktakeśava, Mahāvarāha and Govardhanadhara (modern Gurdan Uḍar). He built the Rājavihāra with a large quadrangle *catuḥśālā)*,[2] a large *caitya*, and a colossal image of the Buddha. Kalhaṇa tells us that he built all these structures with practically equal

[1] Wilson, H. H., *Essay*, p. 84.

[2] *Rājat.*, IV.188-203.

cost on each. Even his wives and ministers consecrated hundreds of images of Viṣṇu and Śiva.[1] Thus though the predominant faith under Lalitāditya was Vaiṣṇavism, the worship of Śiva, Mārtaṇḍa and Buddha went on side by side with perfect toleration and mutual veneration at this time.

The tenth and eleventh centuries were marked by a spirit of religious activity and this was also the time when a distinguished line of literary men expounded the special Kashmir form of Śaivite philosophy called *trika*. Curiously enough references to donations to Viṣṇu and the foundation of temples devoted to him become rare. No king of this period is reported to have endowed a Buddhist *vihāra*—though Buddhist donations were resumed under the second Lohara dynasty. Lalitāditya's patronage of the sun-god was not repeated. Until the coming of Islam, Śiva ruled supreme in Kashmir; other gods were far beneath him in importance. King Parvagupta (A.D. 949-50), though he had accumulated riches through evil ways, yet founded a shrine of Śiva. A lady of King Yaśaskara's seraglio (A.D. 939-48) constructed a temple of Viṣṇu Yaśaskarasvāmin.[2] During the reign of King Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-58) the Jayendravihāra was burnt and he built on its site the temple called Kṣemagaurīśvara.[3] This gives a clear indication of the way in which Buddhism was supplanted gradually by Śaivism in the valley of Kashmir. Queen Diddā also founded two temples of Viṣṇu and a *vihāra* and a *maṭha* for outside *(daiśika)* Brahmins.[4]

King Ananta's queen, Sūryamatī (A.D. 1028-63) founded many Śiva temples and a *maṭha* provided with an *agrahāra*, *bāṇaliṅgas*, *triśūlas* and other sacred emblems.[5] King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89) built Śiva temples at Vijayakṣetra and Tripureśvara and a shrine in honour of Śiva Kalaśeśvara at a place unspecified.[6] We shall deal with King Kalaśa and King Harṣa

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.207-209.
[2] *Ibid.*, VI.137-41.
[3] *Ibid.*, VI.171-73.
[4] *Ibid.*, VI.304.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII.180-85. For *bāṇaliṅga* (sacred stone emblem of Śiva), refer plate VII.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.524-27.

later. King Uccala of the second Lohara dynasty (A.D. 1101-11) bestowed thousands of cows, horses, gold and other gifts on the Brahmins and put up the illustrious image of Viṣṇu known as Parihāsakeśava which King Harṣa had carried off.[1] His brother and successor King Sussala is also credited with the building of three high temples in his own name and in the names of his mother-in-law and wife, and with the renovation of Diddā-vihāra which had been burnt down by a sudden conflagration.[2] With the coming to the throne of King Jayasiṁha and the consequent establishment of good government, religious activity seems to have received a further stimulus. Among this king's religious foundations those in favour of Buddhism stand prominent; to his patronage are attributed the *vihāra* of Ratnadevī,[3] another *vihāra* in honour of his deceased wife Sussalā,[4] the building afresh of the Caṅkuṇavihāra[5] and the completion of the Sullavihāra founded by his uncle.[6] Kalhaṇa tells us that the shrine of Śiva Rilhaṇeśvara which he erected at Pravarapura excited wonder and became pre-eminent among pious foundations.[7] He completed the three temples of his father and made a permanent endowment to the *maṭha* of King Uccala.[8] He also consecrated the image of Viṣṇu Govaradhanadhara.[9] This religious activity on the part of the king was followed by his ministers and their families. Bhuṭṭa, the younger brother of Jalla, the *saṁdhivigrahika* of the ruler of Darvābhisāra,[10] established *liṅgas* of Bālakeśvara and Bhuṭṭeśvara, and founded a town called Bhuṭṭapura (modern Batapor in Machipur Pargana) with great houses, *vihāras* and *maṭhas*.[11] Maṅkhaka, the brother of

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.76-79.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.580.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.2402.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.2410.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.2415-17.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.3316-18.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.2409.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.3316-18.
[9] *Ibid.*, VIII.2438.
[10] Darvābhisāra—territory between Vitastā and Candrabhāgā. Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, I.180, note.
[11] *Rājat.*, VIII.2430-32.

Alaṁkāra, the minister of foreign affairs *(saṁdhivigrahika)* distinguished himself by erecting a shrine of Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva) together with a *maṭha*.[1] Rilhaṇa, another minister, made gifts to Śiva temples and placed a golden parasol on a Viṣṇu temple.[2] Cintā, wife of Udaya, the commander-in-chief, adorned the bank of Vitastā by constructing a *vihāra* with fine buildings.[3]

Despite this general tendency towards religious toleration and desire for religious merit leading to the establishment of so many lofty temples, *vihāras* and *maṭhas*, there were, during the first Lohara dynasty and even earlier, kings whose avariciousness led to severe spoliation of the temples and even desecration of the images of gods. We have already discussed King Śaṁkaravarman's (A.D. 883-902) excessive habits of avarice which led him to plunder sixty-four temples through special officers and to resume the villages belonging to the temples against a compensatory assignment *(pratikāra)*.[4] King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89), by a sudden change for the worse in his conduct, destroyed first the copper image of Sūrya, called Tāmrasvāmin, and also seized the brass images from the Buddhist *vihāras*.[5] Later he regretted this conduct of his, and, believing that the god Sūrya was angered by the destruction of the image of Tāmrasvāmin, he proceeded to take refuge at the temple of Mārtaṇḍa to propitiate the Sun-god in order to save his life. Though he was a worshipper of Śiva, he offered a gold image of the Sun-god before the feet of Mārtaṇḍa.[6]

King Harṣa of the first Lohara dynasty, though reputed for his lavish gifts and elegant tastes, had his own peculiar ways. He is remembered for the spoliation of temples and the breaking of the images of the gods, which he performed so thoroughly that only two divine images of Kashmir were spared by him, viz., the illustrious Rāmasvāmin in Srinagar and the main image of the great Mārtaṇḍa temple. Two Buddha statues

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.3354.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.3368-70.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.3352-53.
[4] *Supra*, p. 142.
[5] *Rājat.*, VII.695-96.
[6] *Ibid.*, VII.709-15.

were saved through the interference of Kalhaṇa's uncle Kanaka and the *śramaṇa* Kuśalaśrī.[1] Kalhaṇa, however, tells us that, at the time of his death, King Harṣa uttered the words, "O Maheśvara!" showing his faith in Śaivism.[2] The work of temple-looting was carried out so thoroughly that Harṣa appointed a special officer named Udayarāja as superintendent for the destruction of the gods *(devotpāṭanānāyaka)*.[3] Not being content with the mere confiscation of the images Harṣa got them deliberately defiled by the naked mendicants *(nagṇāta)* who were employed by the king as his agents in looting the temples. "Evidently this deliberate pollution," opines Prof. A. L. Basham, "was impelled by some motive other than the mere relief of financial stringency; and it may surely be inferred that the king's whole policy was in part inspired by a bias towards heresy."[4]

Kalhaṇa uses the epithet *turuṣka* for this king, which led Stein to interpret his iconoclasm as evidence of his leanings towards Islam.[5] Referring to Harṣa's iconoclastic orgies, R. C. Mitra writes : "Being a Turuṣka by birth, he was a *mleccha* by faith and the sacrilegious action of Harṣa and his grandfather *(sic)* Kalaśa may thus be easy of explanation."[6] Though Harṣa's iconoclasm has led the scholars to believe that he had leanings towards Islam we do not quite understand as to what made Mitra believe that Harṣa was a Turuṣka by birth. If it were so, the whole of the first Lohara dynasty might be claimed to have cherished the Mohammedan faith. Allusions to Turuṣkas become more frequent now than before. We are told that Harṣa had a hundred Turuṣka chiefs under his pay. On his siege of Rājapurī, when he was quite successful, it is the rumour of an attack from the Turuṣkas which led him to abandon the enterprise and flee back to his kingdom. The reference alludes to the rising power of the Turks in Northern

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1091-96.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII.1712.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII. 1091.

[4] Basham, A. L., *Harṣa of Kashmir and the Iconoclast Ascetics*, reprint from the *BSOAS*, vol. XII, parts 3 & 4, 1948, p. 688.

[5] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.1095, note.

[6] Mitra, R. C., *Decline of Buddhism in India*, p. 23.

India.

No conversions to Islam are recorded by our sources as having taken place at this stage of the history of Kashmir, and Kalhaṇa gives us repeated records of the establishment of religious foundations by the Kashmir kings even after the fall of this dynasty.[1] There is, however, no doubt that King Harṣa's father, Kalaśa, also followed evil ways. Four *rājaputras* from the Śāhi family were his favourites and he fell under the control of the Tantric guru named Pramadakaṇṭha. Kalhaṇa gives all the details of this king's licentiousness and the evil that he practised in the company of these base associates. Our author, though full of remorse at his behaviour, makes no mention of this king's leanings towards Islam but clearly attributes it to his association with the Tantric guru, who even acted as a procurer.[2] Along with all these practices are mentioned Kalaśa's pious foundations[3] and his consecration of images of gods. It is also stated that near his end King Kalaśa felt great repentance for having caused the destruction of the image of Tāmrasvāmin, and died at the holy abode of god Sūrya though he was a worshipper of Śiva.[4] We should, however, bear in mind all the influences that worked on Kalaśa before we start analysing the attitude of King Harṣa. About this tendency on the part of Harṣa Prof. Kosambi writes : "The need for money to pay the army (then engaged in a struggle with Ḍāmaras and pretenders) and for metal (which in Kaśmīr was always in short supply for lack of efficient prospectors) were the only reasons. No theological necessity was discovered, adduced or needed. Harṣa did employ *turuṣka* mercenaries, but showed as great contempt for Islam as for his own religion, by his eating pork."[5] As for the need for money we have already seen that even in the time of King Jayāpīḍa there was financial difficulty. The officials

[1] *Supra, pp.* 267-68.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.273ff. The term *guru* stands for the religious preceptor who gives *dīkṣā* or sectarian initiation to his disciple.

[3] *Rājat.*, VII.524-32.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII.722.

[5] Kosambi, D. D., *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, p. 337.

(Kāyasthas) besought the king to avoid the hardships of universal conquests and to collect instead riches from his own land. Thus he started to oppress his subjects, and in his persistent greed he went so far that for three years he took the whole harvest, including the cultivator's share, and even confiscated the *agrahāras* of the Brahmins.[1] King Śaṅkaravarman's oppressive financial exactions have already been referred to.[2] Thus long before the time of the Loharas the avariciousness of the rulers had led them to disregard the privileges of the Brahmins and misappropriate the wealth of the temples. This tendency surged up again under King Kalaśa and reached an extreme limit under Harṣa. The avarice and the licentious habits of the previous kings led them to oppress the subjects, but there was no breaking or any sort of defilement of the images of the gods. The need for money was surely even more urgent under Harṣa, who was so extravagant and who introduced elegant fashions and maintained a lavish court. All this entailed a huge expense and compelled the king to find out some device to meet this need. As rightly pointed out by Kosambi, the need for money was made even more pressing by the fact that the king had also to cope with the rising power of the Ḍāmaras who were accumulating riches and were usurping more and more power. Ultimately they became so turbulent that this unfortunate king lost his throne, his son and his very life. Kalhaṇa specifically tells us that the money thus secured was used for the efficient running of the various departments of the army. But there was no necessity of causing ordure and urine to be poured on the gods and to cover them with spittings instead of flowers. Harṣa's bias towards heresy is proved by his sacrilegious activities and the deliberate defilement of the images of all the gods indiscriminately.

BUDDHISM

Buddhism did not have the privilege of being the exclusive state religion, but we have enough evidence to show that the successive rulers of Kashmir, their ministers, and their queens,

[1] *Supra*, p. 141.

[2] *Supra*, p. 142.

extended their patronage to Buddhism and established Buddhist foundations, even though some of them were Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava by faith. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tells us that King Aśoka ruled over Kashmir, embraced the Buddhist religion, covered Śuṣkaletra and Vitastātra with numerous *stūpas*, and built *caityas* and *vihāras*.[1] Buddhism may have entered Kashmir even earlier, for one legendary King Surendra is said to have founded in the neighbourhood of the Darada country a town called Soraka and built a *vihāra* called Narendrabhavana and another *vihāra* called Saurasa in Kashmir.[2] The traditions preserved in Buddhist texts regarding the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir find corroboration in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.[3] In this Purāṇa, Buddha is made an incarnation of Viṣṇu and in connection with this belief mention is made of the celebration of the birthday of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu on the fifteenth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha (April-May). On that day it is said that Buddha's statue is to be bathed with water containing herbs, jewels and scents and worshipped with the recitation of the sentences employed by the Śākyas. The place of worship is to be coated with honey. The temple and the *stūpa* are to have pictures painted in them. The Śākyas (the Buddhist ascetics) are also to be worshipped and presented with cows, monastic robes *(cīvara)*, food and books.[4]

Though the Chinese Buddhist scholar Hiuen Tsang does not give us a very favourable picture of the state of Buddhism in Kashmir in the seventh century,[5] the fact that the then ruling king of Kashmir came to Kapiśa to pay his respects to the

[1] *Rājat.*, I.101-2. The Blue Annals of Tibet also mention Aśoka and his propagation of the Buddhist faith in Kashmir. *JASB*, 1848. pp. 23-25.

[2] *Rājat.*, I.93-94. Cf. Watters, T., *Travels*, vol. I, p. 265.

[3] *Nīlamata.*, vs. 684-89.

[4] *Nīlamata.*, vs. 684-89. This description is exactly like that given in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* (pp. 159-60), quoted in Kane's *History of Dharma Shastra*, vol. II, p. 722. The ceremonies for the worship of the Buddha are similar though the day mentioned for his worship is seventh day from the full moon of Vaiśākha (April-May).

[5] Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. I, p. 158, vide Stein. *Rājat.*, vol. I, p. 87; Bapat, P. V. (ed.), *2500 Years of Buddhism*, pp. 268-69.

Buddhist monk shows his regard for the Buddhist faith.[1]

In the middle of the eighth century, Ou-k'ong found 300 monasteries instead of 100 of Hiuen Tsang's days, and though Vaiṣṇavism was the religion followed by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, we have record of the foundation of a number of *vihāras* during his reign.[2] His minister Caṅkuṇa took the image of Buddha which Lalitāditya had brought from Magadha and installed it at Srinagar.[3] The reference to the magic powers of this minister appears to be a symptom of the prevalence of Tantric Buddhism in this time.[4]

To the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-83) belonged Śivasvāmin, the author of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*.[5] Śivasvāmin's work was inspired by Buddhist teachings. Following the version of the *Avadānaśataka* in writing this poem, he has introduced many changes. One of these is that the Buddha appears on the scene as a result of the prayers of King Prasenajit of Kosala, who is unable to withstand the advance of the enemy. The Buddha changes the mind of Prasenajit's enemy, King Kapphiṇa, with a miracle. He preaches the 'law' to him, but when requested by King Kapphiṇa to initiate him into the order, he refuses to do so, but admonishes him to practise selflessness in the discharge of his duties as the ruler of his kingdom.[6]

From the deviation of this legend from the version in the *Avadānaśataka*, Gaurishankar, the editor of this work, has pointed out that the influence of the Hindu ideal of life as found in the laws of Manu, and the doctrine of 'non-attachment' in the pursuit of one's duties, find full adherence in Śivasāmin. The Buddhist ideal of monkhood is replaced by that of the householder who seeks salvation by doing his duties in a spirit of self-renunciation.[7]

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, III.355, note; Beal, S., *Life of H. T.*, pp. 69-71.

[2] *Rājat.*, IV.200, 203, 210.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV.215, 259-62.

[4] *Ibid.*, IV.249-53; see Majumdar, R. C. (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 420.

[5] *Rājat.*, V.34.

[6] *Kapphiṇā.*, ch. XVIII.141-51; ch. XIX.1-45; ch. XX.1-42.

[7] *Ibid.*, Intro., pp. XXIV-XXV.

King Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-68) is said to have burnt down the famous Jayendravihāra and utilized the brass of the image of Buddha in the temple of Śiva that he erected.[1] Dr. Sunil Ray and R. C. Mitra look upon the burning of the *vihāra* with suspicion, and we believe with the latter that "this fury was perhaps provoked by political factors rather than by motives of religious persecution."[2] This *vihāra* had sheltered the rebel Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma and also King Pārtha (A.D. 906-21) when the latter was dethroned owing to ministerial intrigues.[3] During the reign of Nandigupta (A.D. 972-73) queen Diddā built Vaiṣṇava temples as well as Buddhist *vihāras* and consecrated an image of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi.[4]

Some scholars hold that from the middle of the ninth century till the advent of the eleventh, Buddhism fell on evil days and all kings were anti-Buddhist. It is stated by K. C. Pandey, an authority on Abhinavagupta, that the visit of Śaṁkarācārya, the great Śaivite philosopher, took place some time in the second decade of the ninth century, after Śaṁkara had given his final blow to Buddhism in the rest of India.[5] He thinks that this visit purged the local faith of its Buddhist elements, strengthened the position of the new Tantric creed which was brought by the two immigrant families and had already begun to be accepted by the populace, and aroused their curiosity to know more about it.[6] Wilson has stated that the attempt to introduce Buddhism in Kashmir was combated and finally frustrated by Southern assistance. He also seems to refer here to the visit of Śaṁkara.[7] Though the growth of Śaivism is connected with the reign of Avantivarman (mid-

[1] *Rājat.*, VI.171ff.

[2] *JBRS*, June 1955, p. 178; also see Ray, S. C., *EHCK* (2nd ed.), p. 166; Mitra, R. C., *Decline of Buddhism in India*, p. 22.

[3] *Rājat.*, V.428; VI.171-73.

[4] *Ibid.*, VI.300-3; Kak, R. C., *Handbook*, p. 70; Goetz, H., *Marg.*, 1955, vol. VIII, p. 72. For the worship of Bodhisattvas as a feature of Mahāyāna Buddhism, see Eliot, C., *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. II, pp. 13-15, 72-73.

[5] Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, p. 88 (p. 151 of 2nd ed.).

[6] Pandey, K. C., *op. cit.*, p. 90 (2nd ed., p. 153).

[7] *Supra*, pp. 264-65.

ninth century) and though during the reign of this king, Kalhaṇa does not record much religious activity on the part of Buddhism, we do not find any instances of religious persecution of any sort. Moreover, it was during this time that Śivasvāmin wrote *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* based on a Buddhist theme, though the poem extols the Brahmanical ideal of a householder rather than that of monkhood of the Buddhists.[1] We have already referred to the reverence shown by the Kashmir kings as well as their queens and ministers and the public towards the teachings of Buddha.[2] Wilson wrote when indology was in its infancy and much research in this field has been made since his days. Pandey followed the older authors and the *Śaṁkaradigvijaya*.[3] His remarks are not acceptable; for, not to speak of North, even in the South "Buddhism did not crumble down to ruin at the touch of Śaṁkara in the early ninth century A. D. nor was its extinction complete in the twelfth."[4] Mitra rightly believes that the name of Śaṁkara was devised by later zealots as a plausible human agency with whom to associate the tradition of a heresy-hunt, simply because these authors fashioned the new philosophy in vindication of orthodoxy which seemed to have knocked the bottom out of the Buddhist defence.[5] He adds: "Though he (Śaṁkara) fortified Hinduism against the assault of the heretical sects by enrolling missionaries in its defence and organising them into corporate monastic schools . . . the legend of his having preached and led a bloody crusade against the Buddhists cannot be sustained."[6] There is a small poem, *Daśāvatāra Stotra*, assigned to Śaṁkara, wherein he describes Buddha in worshipful terms as a *yogī*, seated in *padmāsana*, in deep meditation, and thereby recognizes his divine character. Sureśvara, the disciple of Śaṁkara, also quotes the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti and calls him respectfully a Śākya Puṅgava

[1] *Supra*, p. 273.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 265-66

[3] Pandey, K. C., *op. cit.*, p. 88 (p. 151, 2nd ed.); vide *Śaṁkaradigvijaya*, ch. XVI, pp. 54-80.

[4] Mitra, R. C., *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-30.

[6] *Ibid.*

or the eminent Bauddha.[1] It is even felt "that both the Kashmir schools of Śaivism, viz., Spanda and Pratyabhijñā, that came into being in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., had been more or less influenced by Buddhism, and this accounts for their being more rational and humane in outlook than all other schools of Śaivism in India."[2] The *Daśāvatāracarita* of Kṣemendra (middle of eleventh century) devoted to the description of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu includes Buddha also as one.[3]

From Chinese records it is found that in the year A.D.980, a Kashmiri master went to K'ai-feng, the capital of the Sung Empire. Another Kashmirian monk Dharmapāla (A.D.963-1058) went to China from Nālandā and worked there in A.D. 1003-58. This T'ienh-si-tsai translated one hundred and odd canons into Chinese and he was much honoured by the ruler. Another Kashmirian monk called Mu-lo-shi-chi went and presented Sanskrit manuscripts and leaf of Bodhi tree to China in A.D. 1005.

The direct contribution of Kashmirian masters to Buddhism in China and Far Eastern countries embraces both works in translations and religious practices. Their translations of Tantric texts during the tenth and eleventh centuries are very significant. Their contributions on religious practices were mainly concentrated on monastic discipline and Buddhist meditation. Their works and views were respected by Buddhists in China and in the Far East.[4]

King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89) seized the brass images from the Buddhist *vihāras*. But in his case we note that the treatment towards other sects was equally bad.[5] When describing the destruction of gods and the spoliation of the wealth of the temples by King Harṣa, Kalhaṇa is particular to name the Buddha statues—one at Parihāsapura and the other at Srinagar—which were preserved, together with the images of

[1] Vide *Memoirs of ASI*, vol. xxvi, p. 5; also see Eliot, C., *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. II, pp. 75, 110.

[2] Majumdar, R. C., (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 421.

[3] For *Daśāvatāracarita* of Kṣemendra, see *infra*, under 'Vaiṣṇavism'.

[4] Jan-Yun-Hua, *Kashmir's Contribution to the Expansion of Buddhism in the Far East*, *IHQ*, XXXVII, Nos. 2 and 3, 1961, pp. 93-104.

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.696.

Hindu gods which shared that distinction.[1] It is also of singular interest that Tibetan tradition attributes a Sanskrit poem entitled *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityavandanastava (Gnas Chen Po Brgyad Kyi la Phyag tshal ba'i bstod Pa)* to King Harṣa.[2] Another work named *Suprabhāta Prabhāta Stotra* is also attributed to his authorship in the Tangyur.[3] As regards the atrocity of Harṣa, R. C. Mitra believes that it had no peculiar anti-Buddhist bias; while temples were systematically plundered by an officer specially appointed for the purpose, and the cherished idols were demolished and made to roll on night-soil, no such revolting desecration is recorded of Buddhist idols and relics.[4] But though we know that Harṣa spared the two colossal images of Buddha at the interference of Kanaka and Śramaṇa Kuśala Śrī, we cannot say clearly that he had special regard for Buddhism. The spoliation of the temples and images is a manifestation of his perverted mind rather than of special hatred of any particular religious sect, for among the divine images spared by him are also mentioned those of Raṇasvāmin and Mārtaṇḍa along with two Buddhist images.[5] "History of Kashmir Buddhism during this period is characterised by a lively study of Buddhist logic, and Bhavyarāja and Śaṅkarānanda are two of the best known products of the Valley in this domain. Of the former, who was a contemporary of King Harsha (A.D.1089-1101), only translations of three works of Dharmottara have found place in the *Tangyur*, but his grandiloquent title *Kāśmīra-nyāya-cūḍāmaṇi* indicates real contributions to Buddhist logic in some original treatise or treatises written by him".[6] The sparing of the two

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.1097ff.

[2] *IHQ*, 1941, pp. 223ff., quoted by R. C. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 23. It is clear that Harṣa of Kashmir is referred to and not Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. The chronology of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, especially for Lohara period, has been correctly fixed and is proved by corroborative evidence. See Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII.35, note.

[3] *JRAS*, 1903, pp. 703-22. Dr. F. W. Thomas also ascribes it to King Harṣa of Kashmir. Cf. Majumdar. R. C. (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 419.

[4] Mitra, R. C., *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[5] *Rājat.*, VII.1091-97.

[6] Majumdar. R. C. (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 420.

colossal statues of Buddha is taken by the authors of Vol. V of the *History and Culture of the Indian People* as a possible evidence of Harṣa's pro-Buddhist leanings which they find reflected in his Buddhist writings.[1] There is no doubt that the Chinese and Tibetan sources give us evidence about the Buddhist writings of Harṣa.[2] Kalhaṇa also testifies to the literary ability of this king and praises his unique skill in composition of all sorts. We have, however, no chronological records to show in which years these works were written. He may have changed his attitude later. When he started the work of spoliation he spared the images of two Hindu gods and two Buddhist, thus it is clear that he had equally turned against all the sects. We believe that at a certain period in his life, he came under some sinister influences and started looting the temples and defiling the images of the gods of all the established sects without any discrimination.

Buddhist foundations are also recorded to the credit of the queen of King Uccala of the second Lohara dynasty.[3] Uccala's brother and successor King Sussala is credited with the renovation of Diddāvihāra which had been burnt down by a sudden conflagration.[4] We have already referred to the prominence of the religious foundations of King Jayasiṁha in favour of Buddhism.[5] This was followed by his ministers and their wives.[6] In an earlier quoted work it is stated that Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-55) lacked catholicity of heart, broke up images and burnt down the *vihāra* at Arigon near Srinagar, though it was afterwards rebuilt. "Fortunately", adds the author, "only a few bigots of the type of Jayasiṁha sat on the throne of Kashmir."[7] There is no evidence whatsoever regarding the breaking of the images of gods by Jayasiṁha; he is, on the other hand, credited with a number of new establishments as

[1] Majumdar, R. C. (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 419.
[2] *Supra*, p. 277.
[3] *Rājat.*, VIII.246.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.580.
[5] *Supra*, p. 267.
[6] *Rājat.*, VIII.2430-32, 3343-44, 3352-55.
[7] Majumdar, R. C. (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 420.

well as with the renovation of the old ones. There is no trace of his bigotry in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The statement we have quoted is based on a stone inscription found at Arigon, written in Śāradā characters and dated Laukika Saṁvat 73, or November 1197 A.D. The inscription begins with an invocation to Avalokiteśvara. The object of the inscription is to record the reconstruction by a *vaidya* named Ulhaṇa, of a *vihāra* built of burnt bricks, to replace a wooden structure which had been burnt down by King Siṁha. Konow identifies Siṁha with Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-55), in whose reign Hāḍigrāma was burnt down by Sujji.[1] Stein indentified Haḍigrāma with the modern Ārigom where the inscription was found.[2] The burning of the *vihāra* does not apparently imply any sort of deliberate persecution of the Buddhists by King Jayasiṁha, who, on the other hand, is stated by Kalhaṇa to have established Buddhist *vihāras* himself. The burning probably took place during the troubles arising out of the intrigues against Sujji. Konow further indentifies the Vaidya Ulhaṇa with Ulhaṇa, the son of Sahadeva, who is referred to by Kalhaṇa as a supporter of Sujji.[3] This inscription clearly shows that Buddhism was still alive in Kashmir in the end of the twelfth century.

As regards Kalhaṇa's general tendency towards religious toleration and equal reverence for the various religious sects, Stein writes : "It is curious to note side by side with it the manifestly friendly attitude which Kalhaṇa displays towards Buddhism throughout the whole of his chronicle. A long series of kings, from Aśoka down to his own time, receives his unstinted praise for the Vihāras and Stūpas they founded for the benefit of the Buddhist creed. Similar foundations by private individuals are recorded with the same attention. Others, like Meghavāhana, are praised for having in accordance with 'Jina's' teachings prohibited the slaughter of animals.[4] It is not only

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 300; *Rājat.*, VIII.672, 1586, 2196.; cf. Sahni, D.R., *Arch. Survey*, 1915-16, p. 58.

[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.1184, 2234, 2574, 2402, 2410-17, 3316-18; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 474.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 300; *Rājat.*, VIII.2066, 2092, 2097.

[4] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, p. 8. Vide *Rājat.*, III.4-7, 27ff, 255ff; V. 64, 119.

in the earlier period that we find reference to the Buddhist faith; Kalhaṇa makes numerous references to the images of Buddha claiming special interest. We have already referred to the preservation of Buddha statues by King Harṣa together with Hindu gods which shared that distinction.[1]

Referring to the interference of Kanaka, Kalhaṇa's uncle, and the Buddhist *śramaṇa* Kuśalaśrī, in order to save the Buddha statue, Stein writes : "In view of this company it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Kanaka, too, was personally connected in some way with Buddhist worship."[2] Kalhaṇa does not hesitate to refer repeatedly to the Bodhisattvas or to the Buddha himself as the comforters of all beings, the embodiments of perfect charity and nobility of feeling. They are, to him, beings of absolute goodness who do not feel anger even against the sinner but in patience render him kindness.[3] As late as the reign of King Jayasiṁha, when Buddhism was declining in India, we find mention of belief in Buddhism in Kashmir. Tired of the terrible exactions of Citraratha, the revenue minister, the subjects decided to kill him, saying "the destruction of one wicked person is called lawful when all are helped by it. Even the Jina (Buddha) slew a great snake which killed living beings."[4] Though it is not possible to trace the Buddhist legend here alluded to, it is enough to tell us of the reverence with which Buddha and his life were held by the people of Kashmir even as late as Kalhaṇa's own time. Thus Kalhaṇa also shows us his thorough familiarity with special points of Buddhist traditions and terminology.

Kṣemendra, along with his Hindu writings, composed the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, a collection of Jātaka stories. His son Somendra, in the introduction to this work, tells us that his father composed it at the request of a Brahmin, Sajjanānanda and his friend Nakka.[5] Kṣemendra undertook the work but

[1] *Supra*, p. 277.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8; vide *Rājat.*, I.134; III.28; VIII.2574.

[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.2234.

[5] *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, ed. Saratcandra Das and Pt. Hari Mohan Vidyabhushana, vol. I.

left it after writing three *avadānas*, as the work seemed too lengthy; but being instructed by the Tathāgata himself in a dream, Kṣemendra composed 107 tales *(pallavas)*. Vīryabhadra, an authority on Buddhist texts, also helped him. The 108th tale was added by his son Somendra, who also provided an introduction. The work illustrates six perfections of the Bodhisattva—charity, moral character, patience, diligence, contemplation and wisdom.[1] Somendra in his introduction to the tale of Jīmūtavāhana, his additional *pallava*, says : "Those well-known *vihāras*, gorgeous with the array of pictures pleasing to the eye, have passed away in the course of time. But the *vihāra* of moral merit, excellent and delightful, erected by my father, in which the Avadānas, with weighty meanings underlying them, are carried out, as it were, and painted with variegated colours by the pencil of the goddess of learning, will not perish even at the end of time, not even by the ravages of fire or of water."[2]

It appears that there was not much Buddhist building activity in this period and the *vihāras* of old had decayed by the passage of time and the ravages of fire and flood. But the words echo the great reverence with which Buddhism was held by Somendra and the country of Kashmir. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* is also full of Buddhist features.[3] That Śākyaśrī, a *paṇḍita* of Kashmir, presented the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* to the Kun-dgah-rgyal Mtshan, the Lama of Tibet in 1202, shows the regard with which Buddhism was held in Kashmir as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century.[4]

R. C. Mitra, who has made a detailed survey of the decline of Buddhism in India, believes that Buddhism was in a prosperous condition in Kashmir in the eleventh century. He does not agree with Foucher who thought that "Buddhism at this time was singularly enfeebled."[5] We do not agree with Mitra, however, that Buddhism was in a really flourishing condition

[1] *Bodhisattva.*, Intro., Somendra, verses 5, 6, 10-16.
[2] *Ibid.*, Prefatory note, pp. v, vi.
[3] Keith, A. B., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 249.
[4] *Bodhisattva.*, Prefatory note, p. iii.
[5] Mitra, R. C., *op. cit.*, p. 135; also see *JA*, 1892, p. 167.

and that there was no laxity. We find definite signs of laxity, and evidence of magic and exorcisms, the arid pedantry and mystic cobwebs of the Tantric imagination.[1]

TANTRICISM

The Tantras, inculcating the worship of the Mother Goddess in her various forms, constitute a considerable body of literature.[2] The Tantric literature essentially represents a very important part of Indian spiritual lore, so far as its practical aspect is concerned.[3] *Tanyate vistāryate jñānam anena iti tantram*—according to this derivation of the word *tantra* from √*tan* 'to spread', it is defined as the Śāstra by which knowledge *(jñāna)* is spread... the end of the practical methods which these Śāstras employ is to spread Vedāntic *jñāna*. The end is substantially one; the means to that end vary according to knowledge, capacity and temperament.[4]

The word *tantra* by itself simply means a 'treatise' and not necessarily a religious scripture. In its latter meaning it may mean the scripture of several divisions of worshippers who vary in doctrine and practice. Thus there are Tantras of Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, and Śāktas and of various sub-divisions of these.[5] It is a cultural discipline in a wider sense, and when used in a more limited sense, it is spiritual knowledge of a technical nature.[6]

The Tantras form the fourth section of the Hindu scriptures in order of inspiration and authority, the other three being Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇa. They are also known as the fifth Veda by those who regard them as authoritative and observe the ritual which they enjoin.[7] Kullūka Bhaṭṭa commenting on Manu says

[1] Cf. Majumdar, R. C. (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 420.

[2] Bhandarkar, R. G., *VSMRS*, p. 144.

[3] Bhattacharya, H., *The Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. IV, p. 211; Woodroffe, J., *Tantrarāja Tantra*, Preface, p. xvii.

[4] Woodroffe, J., *Śakti and Śakta*, p. 143.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[6] Bhattacharya, H., *loc. cit.*

[7] *Ency. Rel. & Ethics*, vol. XII, pp. 192-93; Woodroffe, J., *Introduction to Tantra Śāstra*, p. 40.

that Śruti is twofold—Vedic and Tantric.[1] The Tantra is regarded as a Śruti or Āgama, i.e., 'revelation', as opposed to a Smṛti or Nigama, i.e., 'tradition'. It is thus classed with Vedas and is usually defined as *Śrutiśākhāviśeṣaḥ*, a particular branch of the Vedas.[2] The religious attitude in the Tantras is fundamentally the same as in the Vedic ritual. The Tantric *sādhanā* also concerns the attainment of ascendancy over the forces of nature by the exoteric ritual of the Vedic type, as well as by the esoteric ritual involving the yogic practice, its aim being the union of the two principles, the Śiva and the Śakti.[3] According to another rendering, "The aim of the Tantra is the awakening of the cosmic energy latent in man and taking it through mystic planes to unite it with Śiva for the consummation of the mantra SAHAM : 'She I am'; and thence to the Vedantic realization of SOHAM, 'He I am'.

The Tantras, which succeed and are in part dependent on the Purāṇas, are also in part unrelated to the latter and are of considerable antiquity. In their present form they are usually ascribed to sixth or seventh century. Tantric usages and practical formulae were current and were practised in a much earlier age, for they belong to a type of thought that varies little among primitive peoples in the course of centuries.[5] But though their practices are undoubtedly very ancient, nearly all authorities ascribe the growth of Tantric literature to a later period. It was only from about the fifth or sixth century A.D. that Tantricism as a special religious or philosophical school gradually arose. The worship of the Mothers and references to the Ḍākinīs attending them may be traced back to the Gangadhar inscription of the fifth century A.D.[6] and images of the Mothers referred to in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.[7] According to Bhattacharya also the Tantras of the Āgama type were prevalent during the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, from the Kuṣāṇa period down to

[1] Comm. on *Manu.*, ch. II, v. 1 : *Śrutiścā dvividhā vaidikī tāntrikī caiti.*

[2] Bhattacharya, H., *op. cit.*, pp. 211-12.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[4] Woodroffe, J., *Tantrarāja Tantra*, Preface, p. xx.

[5] *Ency. Rel. & Ethics*, vol. XII, p. 193.

[6] *CII*, vol. III, pp. 74-78, inscription No. 17.

[7] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, part II, ch. II, v. 56.

the end of the Gupta period.[1]

The religion of the Āgamas (Śiva Tantras) apparently developed through two channels : one exoteric and the other esoteric. The former was continued as pure Śaivism with greater emphasis on the devotional aspect of the worship of Śiva-Paśupati, with a view to attaining salvation. The latter was continued as Śāktism, with greater emphasis on the various Śakti cults, not so much to attain salvation as to gain ascendency over the forces of nature, and to carry on experiments with them in order to gain a detailed knowledge of their working. Salvation was too small a goal for the latter. The later literature of pure Śaivism ceases to be called Tantra. Tantra proper became more Śāktic in character and this character of Tantra became definitely established by the tenth century A.D.[2]

According to the geographical classification of the Tantras given in the *Sammoha Tantra*, they are divided into four classes, viz., Kerala, Kāśmīra, Gauḍa and Vilāsa—the Kāśmīra class prevailing in all countries from Madra to Nepal.[3]

According to Tantric philosophy, Ānandabhairava or Mahābhairava, which is the name given by Tantricists to Śiva, is the soul of, or is composed of, the nine groups of substances *(vyūhas)* of which the world is made up; such as time and its various forms *(kālavyūha)*, existing things like the blue substance *(kulavyūha)*, names *(nāmavyūha)*, perception *(jñānavyūha)*, and the five faculties, viz., consciousness, heart, will, intelligence and mind *(cittavyūha)*. Mahābhairava is the soul of the goddess, therefore, she also in turn is the soul of, or composed of, the nine collections. Both, therefore, constitute one entity. When there is *sāmyarasa*, or community of joy or intense love between them, creation follows. The female element, or Mahābhairavī, however, is predominant in the process of creation, and the male element, or Mahābhairava, in the work of destruction.[4] This sect, there-

[1] Bhattacharya, H., *op. cit.*, p. 216.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 221.

[4] Bhandarkar, R. G., *op. cit.*, p. 145. Vide *Saundaryalaharī* with Lakṣmīdhara's Comm. (Mysore edition), V.34. In the Upaniṣads the *padma* symbolised generative force and hence could be used for the female organ.

fore, looks upon every woman as an incarnation of the Universal Mother, to whom proper respect should be paid.

The term *guru* stands for the religious preceptor who gives *dīkṣā* or sectarian initiation to his disciples. The Mother Goddess is propitiated and eventually attained by assuming the vow *(dīkṣā)* of devoted worship of her. The first step to salvation consists in fully concentrating the mind on the *devī* as sitting on the lap of Śiva in the Mahāpadmavana (a garden of lotuses), as possessed of a body which is pure joy and is the original cause of all, and as identical with one's own self.[1] The second stage is *cakrapūjā*, or worship by means of the mystic circles, which is the *bāhyayāga*, or material worship; and the third consists in studying and knowing the true doctrine. The second is the proper 'Śākta ceremonial'.[2] This consists in the worship of a diagram of the female organ drawn in the centre of another consisting of a representation of nine such organs, the whole of which forms the *śrīcakra*.[3] Tantric *sādhana* is based on a very profound knowledge of the principles of psychology. "The Tantra considers each and every principle or *tattva* of our being as a divinity and the whole of our being as an assembly of several dynamic forces, each force having the form of a *devatā*. For each *devatā*, it attributes a particular mantra and yantra or cakra. For instance, the Śrī-yantra is adapted for the worship of Lalitha Śakti. The cakra contains nine triangles one within the other, enclosed in circles and petals. The four triangles pointing upwards represent Śiva and five pointing downwards Śakti. The triangles represent the play of creation, protection and absorption of the Universe by the Śuddha Śakti, the Pure Divine Force . . . the central point of the cakra is Bindu which represents the unity of Śiva with Śakti, Kāmeswara with Kāmeswari."[4] The *mātṛcakras* or the 'circles of the Mothers' represent

[1] Bhandarkar, R. G., *op. cit.*, p.146; for *dikṣā* see Pandit, M.P., *Studies in the Tantras and the Veda*, p. 53.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, vide *Saundaryalaharī*, V.41 (Comm.). For detailed description of *śrīcakra*, see Woodroffe, J., *Tantrarāja Tantra*, Intro., pp. 5-10 and the diagram reproduced at plate VI.

[4] Woodroffe, J., *op. cit.*, Preface, p. xx.

the sensual form in which she is the object of worship with the school of Śāktas, who are so called because they are worshippers of Śakti.[1] This system we find referred to in the mention of *mātṛcakras* and *devīcakras* in Kashmir.[2]

To the worship of Devī, the goddess, who is the joyously creative energy of nature, belong the five true things *(pañcatattva)* through which mankind enjoys gladly, preserves its life, and procreates; intoxicating drink *(madirā)* which is a great medicine to man, a breaker of sorrows and a source of pleasure; meat *(māṁsa)* of the animals in the villages, in the air or in the forests, which is nutritious and strengthens the force of body and mind; fish *(matsya)* which is tasty and augments procreative potency; roasted corn *(mudrā)*[3] which is easily obtained, grows in the earth and is the root of life in the three worlds; and fifthly physical union *(maithuna)* with Śakti—the source of the bliss of all living beings and the deepest cause of creation and the root of the eternal world.[4] This Tantric *pañcatattva* ritual was interpreted and adopted by the sensual people in their own interest. Hence Monier Williams describes the faith of the Śāktas, or the worshippers of the feminine deities as a mixture of sanguinary sacrifices and orgies with wine and women.[5] According to Bhattacharya, the worship of Śakti, the fierce goddess, existed as an independent religious cult among certain wild tribes and it was only at a later stage that it was brought into close contact with the Śiva worship. As a matter of fact, by

[1] Bhandarkar, R. G., *op. cit.*, p. 144; Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v., p. 807; *Śabdakalpadruma*, vol. III, p. 692.

[2] *Rājat.*, I.122, 333, 335, 348.

[3] Woodroffe, J., *Introduction to Tantraśāstra*, p. 112. In ordinary parlance *mudrā* means ritual gestures or positions of the body in worship and meditation with artificial aids (Haṭhayoga) but as one of the five elements it is parched cereal, and defined as *bhṛṣṭadānyādikam yadyad cavyanīyam pracakṣate sā mudrā kathitā devī sarveṣāṁ nāganandinī* (Yoginī Tantra, ch. VI). Cf. *Rājat.*, I.367; II.119; *KSS*, where parched grain is used at welcomes. Paddy, rice, wheat and gram generally are *mudrā*. Woodroffe, J., *Introduction to Tantraśāstra*, p. 116.

[4] Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, p. 614 (rev. ed.); Woodroffe, J., *Śakti and Śākta*, p. 120 (tr. of Winternitz's article).

[5] Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hindulsm*, p. 180ff.

the side of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, Śāktism also commanded a large following. Bloody sacrifices and sexual orgies of the Tantrics are some of the distinctive features of the Śakti worship.[1] Yogi Shuddhānanda Bhāratī opines: "Tantra is wrongly stigmatised as a libidinous phallic necromancy. This is due to instances of the excesses of some misguided Vāmamārgins. The real Tāntrika is neither a cynic nor cyronic hedonist. He is rather an endaemonist than a slave to passions. The much-ridiculed five M's are only esoteric symbologies. Wine is the lunar ambrosia flowing from the Soma Cakra. Woman is the Kuṇḍalini 'Śakti sleeping in the lower plexus', Mulādhāra. *Matsya* is the annihilation of 'I' and 'Mine'. *Māṁsa* is the surrender of the limited human to the unlimited Divine. Mudrā is cessation from evils. *Maiḍhuna (sic)* is the union of the Śakti with the Śiva in man. In Tantras, woman is not considered as an object of animal passion and pleasure. Tāntrikas consider woman as Parāśakti. She is deified and adored. If there is one science that has explored the divine regions of man and woman, in detail, it is Tantra."[2]

Barth admits that the cult of the Mother is based on a deep meaning and that the Tantras are also full of theosophical and moral reflections and ascetic theories, but is not thereby prevented from saying that "a Śākta of the left hand is almost always a hypocrite and a superstitious debauchee, but there can be no doubt that among the authors of these contemptible catechetical books there were more than one who sincerely believed that they were performing a work of sanctity."[3] The worship of the 'Mothers', which is identical with that of the Śaktis, plays an important part in the Tantra ritual which has flourished in Kashmir from ancient times. Mystical diagrams are prepared and worshipped to this day in Kashmir according to the rules of the Tantraśāstra, both in private houses and temples. Of supposed natural *(svābhāvika) cakras* of the kind, the *Śrīcakra* on the Sārikāparvata in Śrinagara and

[1] Bhattacharya, H., *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 238.

[2] Woodroffe, J., *Tantrarāja Tantra*, Preface, p. xviii.

[3] Barth., *Religins of India*, pp. 205ff.

the Jvālāmukhīcakra on the rocky hills above Uyen (*Skt.* Ovana) in the Vīhi Pargana receive special reverence.[1]

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it is said that Īśānadevī, the queen of the legendary King Jalauka, established circles sacred to the Mothers *(mātṛcakra)*, which were distinguished by their spiritual power, at the 'gates' of Kashmir and other places. Kashmir tradition represents King Jalauka as the son and successor of Aśoka. A son of Aśoka by this name cannot be traced in any of the available sources, but the location of the *agrahāra* founded by him at Vārabāla (the present Bāravul) and of the circles attributed to his queen Īśānadevī can be identified.[2] The date of this king, whether or not he was the son of Aśoka, was evidently very early, and hence the existence of this cult too can be taken as very early compared with the later dates assigned to the Tantric system in its final form.

King Baka of Mihirakula's lineage is said to have once met a sorceress named Bhaṭṭā, who, having assumed the appearance of a lovely woman, approached the king one evening and lured him to accept her invitation to view the wonders of her sacrificial feast. When he came the next morning along with his hundred sons and grandsons, she made of him a sacrificial offering to the "circle of the Goddess" *(devīcakra)*. Kalhaṇa tells us that even in his time there was seen on a rock the double impression of her knees, showing where, on attaining supernatural power as a result of this human sacrifice, she had risen to the sky, and the story was kept alive in the *maṭhas* of Kherī (the present Khur) by the image of god Śatakapāleśa, by the 'circle of the Mothers', and by that rock.[3] The story suggests that

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, I.122, note.

[2] *Rājat.*, I.122.

[3] *Ibid.*, I.330-33. The eight *mātṛkās* are Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍā and Mahālakṣmī, considered as constituted of *kāma* (Kāmamaya), *krodha*, *lobha*, *moha*, *mada*, *mātsarya*, *pāpa and puṇya*. The *mātṛkās* are worshipped to suppress all evil inclinations associated with each of their names and to gain virtue. Brāhmī is conjoined with *kāma* because she creates, Māheśvarī with *krodha* because she destroys, Kaumārī with *lobha* because being youthful, she is full of longing, Vaiṣṇavī with *moha* because she fascinates the Universe by her *moha*, Vārāhī with *mada* because the boar is an obstinate and proud

Tantric practices were known in Kashmir at an early date and that they were practised in their most fierce forms. Though the tale of King Baka becoming a victim in this way may be a mere folk legend, it certainly points to the probability that some of the earlier kings took part in the Tantric rites. Moreover, this is an example of the worship of the goddess in her most fierce form, in which she is associated with the schools of *kāpālikas* and *kālamukhas*, and animals and human-beings are sacrificed.[1] Another king of Mihirakula's race, Narendrāditya I, had a *guru* named Ugra, who was the recipient of divine favours and constructed the shrine of Śiva Ugreśa and a 'circle of the Mothers'.[2] The son of Meghavāhana, the first prince of the restored Gonanda dynasty, was Śreṣṭhasena, whom the people called Pravarasena I and Tuñjīna II. He is said to have constructed the shrine of Pravareśvara together with a circle of the Mothers' *(mātṛcakra)*.[3] The worship of the 'circle of Mothers' *(mātṛcakra)* along with the construction of Bhairava temples continued during the time of King Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883), when idealistic monism had become more popular.[4]

The *Sammoha Tantra* mentions three classes of Tantras according to the nature of their *sādhanās : divya, kaula* and *vāma*.[5] In Kṣemendra's works we find mention of Kaula school.[6] In the eleventh century, the Kaula schools were quite developed, comprising a number of sects. *Kula* stands for Śakti, and so the Kaula schools were Śāktic in character.[7]

animal (pig-headed), Indrāṇī with *mātsarya* because Indra, Her consort, is a jealous *devatā*, Cāmuṇḍā with *pāpa* because by and through Her mediation injury is done, Lakṣmī with *pūṇya (sic)* because she is benign and leads the sādhaka to all virtuous acts. (Woodroffe, J., *Tantrarāja Tantra*, Intro., p. 10; cf. Bhandarkar, R. G., *op. cit.*, p. 143).

[1] Cf. Bhandarkar, R. G., *op. cit.*, p. 144; for the sect of *kāpālikas* and *kālamukhas*, see *ibid.*, p. 127.

[2] *Rājat.*, I.348.

[3] *Ibid.* III.97; *KSS*, vol. IV, p. 225.

[4] *Rājat.*, V.55; cf. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. I, pp. 144-48.

[5] Bhattacharya, H., *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 221; Bagchi, P.C., *Studies in the Tantras*, pp. 96ff.

[6] *N. Mālā.*, ch. II, vs. 100-116.

[7] Pandey, K. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 542ff. (rev. ed.); Bhattacharya, H., *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 223.

A very grim picture of how this subtle philosophy and its ritual could be misused is presented by Kalhaṇa, though with great regrets, in his account of King Kalaśa (A. D. 1063-89). His *guru* was a Tantricist, Pramadakaṇṭha, the son of a Brahmin named Amarakaṇṭha. Kalhaṇa praises the father while he deplores the evils of the son. We have here evidence of the existence of the sober worship of the god Śiva, the auspicious, and of the Tantric ceremonial in its most hideous form, side by side. Kalhaṇa relates that this teacher *(guru)*, who was evilly disposed by nature to wicked practices, made King Kalaśa ignore the distinction between women who are approachable and those who are not. This *guru* is said to have lived in incest with his own daughter.[1] Next, Kalhaṇa mentions another swindler, nicknamed the 'cat-merchant', from the fact that he kept a pet cat who acquired reputation as a Tantric *guru* and made even honourable and learned men *(bhaṭṭapāda)*, who knew how to behave fearlessly at the great Tantric rites *(mahāsamaya)*, bend their knees in fear.[2] This *guru* also posed as a physician. Thus the Tantric ceremonies *(mahāsamaya)* associated with the worship of Śakti tended to become a ruse for debauchery, and Kalaśa's licentiousness induced him to follow the basest possible forms of the religious practice degenerating into obscenity. Hence one would be inclined to agree with Barth's saying that "a Śākta of the left hand is almost always a hypocrite and a superstitious debauchee."[3] Such sinister developments seem to have created a feeling of disgust in Kalhaṇa's mind too, though not so much at the Tantric school as such as at its false *gurus*.[4] He mentions with reverence those kings and queens who established *mātṛcakras* and *śrīcakras*.[5]

Kṣemendra also, while describing the life of a clerk *(niyogī)* in his *Narmamālā*, tells us that he was formerly a Buddhist, later became a Vaiṣṇava, but for the welfare of his

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.277-78.

[2] *Ibid*, VII.279-84. For *mahāsamaya*—a Tantric rite—see *Rājat.*, VII. 523. St. Petersburg Sanskrit-Worterbuch, *s, v. Samayācāra.*

[3] Barth., *op. cit.*, p. 205.; *Supra*, p. 287.

[4] *Rājat.*, VII.281-84.

[5] *Ibid.*, I.348; III.99.

wife he had recourse to *kaulācāra*, and instituted a *yāga* for the restoration of her health. In this ceremony, the important figure is the *guru*, who is the spiritual teacher not only of the Kāyastha and his widowed sister but also of the prostitute who resorts to him to get amulets etc., for the preservation of her body; of the old trader who every now and then consults him for various purposes; of the country surgeon of a very low position; and lastly of a third rate eye-specialist.[1] In the same context appear to be associated the base superstitions and the practices of witchcraft *(abhicāra)* by which so many kings and heirs-apparent are stated to have been killed.[2] *Abhicāra* means dark or magical practices performed with a view to injuring or destroying others. Even MarcoPolo in the late thirteenth century noticed the acquaintance of the Kashmirians with the devilries of witchcraft and enchantment.[3] Thus in Kashmir of the period under review we find the subtlest philosophy combined with the grossest possible absurd and repulsive superstitions.

On the magic practices frequently referred to in the Tantric literature of later time Bhattacharya's view "that in many cases they are derived from the religious practices of a primitive society assimilated into the Vedic society; but, logically speaking they also represent a phase of the Vedic ritual, not practised for higher spiritual purposes, but for certain lower ends in which a group of people had always some interest"[4] fits in very well with the prevalence of magic practices of the Tantricists in Kashmir especially when we remember that the Brahmanical society was brought to settle among the primitive Kashmir population.

ŚAIVISM

Commenting on the date of the appearance of Śaivism in Kashmir, J. C. Chatterjee writes : "In Kasmir itself—where even the most orthodox followers of the Shivāgama admit that the Trika-Shāsana first appeared (or, as they put it, reappeared) about the beginning of the ninth Christian century—Shivāgama

[1] *N. Mālā.*, ch. II, vs. 100-16; *Sam. Māt.*, VI.25.

[2] *Rājat.*, IV.88, 112, 114, 124, 686; V.239; VI.108-112, 121.

[3] Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 172, 175, note; vol. II, p. 41.

[4] Bhattacharya, H., *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 214.

is regarded as of high antiquity, indeed of eternal existence like the Vedas."[1] The growth of Kashmir Śaivism is thus connected with the reign of King Avantivarman (middle of ninth century) who is much praised by Kalhaṇa for his peaceful government and patronage of learning. The introduction or origin of the Kashmir Śaivite philosophy as such did not come as a revolt against the existing religious thoughts and practices, but as a natural accompaniment of the growth of learning, leading to the development of Śiva-sūtra literature. We have clearly shown above that the various religious sects of Śaivism, Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism flourished together quite amicably in Kashmir. Even the Kashmir kings do not appear to have been very rigid as regards their religious beliefs and outward forms of worship. This is illustrated by the fact that King Avantivarman (A. D. 855/6-883) out of regard for his able minister Śūra, though a Vaiṣṇava at heart, outwardly worshipped Śiva, and this secret he revealed only at the time of his death.[2]

Kashmir Śaivism has two branches—the Spandaśāstra and the Pratyabhijñāśāstra. The authorship of the basic text of the first school is attributed to Vasugupta and his pupil Kallaṭa. The two principal works of the system are the *Śivasūtras*[3] and the *Spandakārikās* or *Spandasūtras*, which consist of fifty-one verses only. The *Śivasūtras* form, from the Trika (Kashmir Śaivite) point of view, the most important part of the Āgama-śāstra. Their authorship is attributed to Śiva himself, while they are said to have been revealed to the sage Vasugupta.[4] The Spandaśāstra lays down the main principles of the system in greater detail and in a more amplified form than the *Śivasūtras*, hardly, however, entering into philosophical reasoning in their

[1] Chatterji, J. C., *Kashmir Shaivaism*, vol. I, p. 3; Bhandarkar, R.G., *op. cit.*, p. 76; Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, Appendix A, p. 337. (rev. ed., p. 733); *Tantrāloka*, vol. XII, *āhnika* 37, pp. 404-5.

[2] *Rājat.*, V.124.

[3] Chatterji, J. C., *Kashmir Shaivaism*, vol. II, p. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 15. The Trika is a spiritual philosophy, because its doctrines regarding Reality, the World, and Man are derived from a wealth of spiritual experiences and are not constructions based upon an analysis of the ordinary experiences of man. (Bhattacharya, H., *op. cit.*, p. 79).

support. The Spandaśāstra is attributed by Kṣemarāja to Vasugupta himself, but it was more probably composed by the latter's pupil, Kallaṭa.[1] Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa lived in the reign of King Avantivarman (A.D.855/6-883), the founder of the Utpala dynasty of Kashmir.[2] His commentary called *Spandasarvasva* on his teacher's *Spandakārikās* was discovered by Bühler during his search for Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir.[3]

Vasugupta and Somānanda are regarded as the human founders of the Trika or Advaita Śaivism which is peculiar to Kashmir. Of these two, while Vasugupta gave out the doctrines merely as revelations and articles of faith,[4] Somānanda, who was probably a pupil of Vasugupta, laid the foundation of the philosophical side of the school. We know something about Vasugupta from his pupils, who tell us that he lived in the charming valley of Sadardhavana, the modern Harvan stream, behind the Shalimar garden near Srinagar. The work of Somānanda was carried on in greater detail by Utpala and Abhinavagupta, the chief exponents of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy.[5] Somānanda tells us about his lineage that once Śrikaṇṭha (Śiva), while roaming over Mount Kailāsa, was touched with pity for suffering humanity which was immersed in spiritual darkness caused by the disappearance of Śaivāgamas. He therefore instructed the sage Durvāsas to revive the Śaivite teaching. The sage accordingly divided all the Śaivāgamas into three classes according as they taught monism, dualism or monism-cum-dualism, and imparted their doctrines to his mind-born sons—Tryambaka, Amardaka and Śrīnātha respectively. Somānanda represents himself as the nineteenth descendant of Tryambaka, the founder of the Advaita Tantric school. Somānanda's fourth ancestor named Saṁgamāditya came in the course of his wanderings to Kashmir and settled there. The name of the three descendants between Saṁgamāditya and Somānanda in the order of succession are Varṣāditya, Aruṇāditya,

[1] Chatterji, J. C., *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[2] *Rājat.*, V.66.

[3] Bühler, *Report*, pp. 78ff.

[4] *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies), vol. I, pp. 2-3.

[5] Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, p. 73f. (rev. ed., p. 135f.).

and Ānanda.[1]

The other family which, about two centuries later, in the second half of the tenth and first quarter of the eleventh century, was to produce the great Śaiva philosopher Abhinavagupta, migrated from Kānyakubja (Kanauj) to Kashmir. The earliest ancestor of Abhinavagupta was Atrigupta, who lived in Antarvedī, the region between the Ganges and the Yamuna rivers, in the reign of King Yaśovarman of Kanauj (early eighth century). He was well-known for his proficiency in all branches of learning and in the Śaiva Śāstra in particular. King Lalitāditya (*c.* A.D.725-761) was so much impressed with his scholarship that he brought him to Kashmir and settled the family in a spacious house on the bank of the river Vitastā (Jhelum) with a large grant of land for their maintenance. His father, Narasiṁhagupta, alias Cukhulaka, was an avowed devotee of Śiva and proficient in all Śāstras.[2]

The usual form of Śaiva worship to which the Brahmanic section of Kashmir society adhered during the period under review was this Idealistic Monism of the Advaita Śaiva school as expressed in the worship of Ardhanārīśvara, representing god Śiva in his union with Pārvatī. The introductory verses prefixed to each book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* contain prayers addressed to Śiva in this form. Kalhaṇa also mentions his father Caṇpaka's visits to the *tīrthas* of Nandikṣetra, all of which are sacred to Śiva.[3] Kalyāna, whom we have identified with Kalhaṇa, was the teacher of Jayaratha, the commentator of the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta, the great Kashmirian Śaivite philosopher.[4] The Śaiva system of Kashmir, known as the Trikaśāsana in the ancient philosophical literature of India, upholds, as its name indicates, the existence of three ultimate principles—Śiva, the Supreme Being, Śakti, a personal entity of the nature of perfect egoity, and *Aṇu*, the individual soul under the bondage of impurities of limitations. Of these three, the exponents of the

[1] Somānanda, *Śivadṛṣṭi*, ed. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, *āhnika* vii, vs. 107-20.

[2] *Parā. T.*, pp. 280-81; Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka*, vol. XII, *āhnika* 37, vs. 37-39; Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, pp. 5-6 (rev. ed.).

[3] *Rājat.*, VII.954; VIII.2364-65.

[4] See *infra*, Appendix I, p. 311.

Trika school have brought the idea of Śakti into greater prominence. Śiva is the Supreme Entity. He is the all-doing, all-knowing, serene lord, all-pervading, indivisible and infinite. In Him remains His Śakti, or nature, in a sort of reflex relation of Self Indentity.[1] Then as he comes to possess the tendency of projecting Himself, His Śakti evolves from Him in the form of Divine Creative Will.[2] The *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* speaks of both Śiva and Śakti as beyond the *turya* or the fourth state—*turyātīta*.[3] "Looked at from this point of view", writes Das, "Śakti is not at all an entity different from the Parama Śiva and does not stand in any (external) relation to him."[4]

In his *Paramārthasāra*, Abhinavagupta says : "Creation, maintenance and dissolution, waking *(jāgrat)*, dreaming *(svapna)* and dreamless sleep *(suṣupti)*, appear in Him in the Fourth Abode; but He reveals Himself under their covering."[5] "The above conditions are present as phenomena in the consciousness of the Lord in the 'Fourth' stage, (i.e., the waking state is the 'Universe', because of differentiation; dreaming sleep is 'Illumination', because of the greatness of the light, the state of dreamless slumber is that of 'Understanding', for it is compact of knowledge; above these is the 'Fourth'[6]—the state of Sadāśiva), in which He is pure Bliss, the state of Infinite egoity, from which the phenomena of the three lower states of consciousness derive their character. Their presence does not suppress this real nature, for He reveals Himself everywhere as higher than they, as the universal subject of perception, under all conditions infinite in essence."[7]

"Śakti", says Jayaratha, the commentator of Abhinavagupta, "is the very Śaktimat Himself. But her difference from

[1] *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra, adhikāra* I, vs. 17-18 : *tatreśaḥ sarvakṛcchāntaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarvakṛt prabhuḥ sakalo niṣkalo'nantaḥ śaktirapyasya tadvidhā.*

[2] *Ibid., adhikāra* III, v. 5 : *yā sā śaktirjagaddhātuḥ kathitā samavāyinī icchātvam tasya sā devī sisṛkṣoh pratipadyate.*

[3] *Ibid., adhikāra* II, v. 29 : *śaktiśambhū parijñeyau turyātīte varānane.*

[4] Das, S. K., *Śakti or Divine Power*, p. 63.

[5] Barnett, *P. Sāra.* Ed., & tr. in *JRAS*, 1910, p. 730, vs. 34-35.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Barnett's explanation of verse 34 of *P. Sāra.*, in *JRAS*, 1910, p. 730.

Him is held only by a sort of transference of epithet by reason of the difference in her evolutes."[1] "Almost all the definitions of Śakti given by Śaiva writers try to explain the world of phenomena both mental and material, not from a static point of view as a mass of lifeless inert matter but from a dynamic viewpoint as a vast storehouse of one energy manifesting itself as partly potential and partly active.[2] "Looked at from this new point of view of the Kashmere *(sic)* Śaivites the whole external world of cognizables or matter interpreted as having its origin from Śakti as a particular mode of conscious reflection of objectivity *(idantaparamarśa)* comes to be imbued with life force, and apparelled in the garb of truth and reality (not Maya or illusion) and appears in a perfectly glorious light to the devotee (*sādhaka*)".[3] The idea does not appear to be altogether new when we remember the verse from *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, repeated in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, where Kṛṣṇa says : "Kashmir land is Pārvatī; know that its king is a portion of Śiva."[4] The whole land of Kashmir is the Śakti of the god Śiva or the externalization of the conscious Śiva as the object of His own self-enjoyment. Here is a clear evidence of the idea of Śakti *(Pārvatī)* being applied to the whole of the world of the philosophy of life of the people of Kashmir. Thus the idea was widespread but was expounded clearly in philosophical form by the later writers like Kallaṭa, Somānanda and Abhinavagupta. They clearly showed that the whole world has its roots deeply implanted in the Supreme Being Śiva and is therefore naturally a reality. Consistent with this principle, the Kashmiri Śaivites did not accept *Māyā* as an independent entity. Abhinavagupta defined it as nothing but "His power of absolute freedom in the manifestation of manifold appearances—an external manifestation of the Supreme free will *(svātantrya)* of the Lord Śiva." The aim of these philosophers in asserting the reality of the phenomenal world as a manifestation of the Divine was to

[1] Jayaratha's *Viveka.*, v. 106; *vide* Das, S. K., *Śakti.*, p. 66; Appendix, p. 232.

[2] Das, S. K., *Śaktī.*, p. 66.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[4] *Nīlamata.*, v. 237; *Rājat.*, I.72.

harmonise the full-bodied principle of Śakti with the conception of Supreme Reality—the god Śiva—so that the philosophy might not be interpreted in terms of dualistic *dvaita* principles.[1]

In the *Śivadṛṣṭi* Somānanda discusses and puts forth briefly his views as the first known exponent of the Idealistic Monism of the Śaiva school of the Indian philosophy. The title of the work is significant enough to express clearly that he wants to bring home to his readers the realization of the whole universe as the manifestation of one Absolute Reality called Śiva, the All-Blissful.[2] The aim of this system of Idealistic Monism, like that of Vedanta, is to help the individual in self-realization; and the means also by which this end is to be achieved is the same as that of Vedanta, viz., removing the veil of ignorance. But the two systems differ in their conceptions of self-realization because their ideas of the apparent *(ābhāsa*, i.e., the Universe) are different. While the Vedanta holds that the Universe is unreal, the Realistic Idealism of the Kashmiris maintains it to be real, because it is a manifestation of the Ultimate. Therefore, while according to the former, all that we know disappears at the time of self-realization, according to the latter, the objective universe stands even when the Self is realized, but is known in its true perspective. This kind of realization, is spoken of as Recognition *(pratyabhijñā)*[3]—and hence the name *pratyabhijñā* was used for the philosophy of Kashmir. With all its purity and subtlety Kashmir Śaivism is very rightly considered more humane and rational than some other Śaiva schools such as those of the *kāpālikas* and *kālamukhas*.[4]

VAIṢṆAVISM

Viṣṇu is a Vedic deity. There are but few hymns addressed to Him in the *Ṛgveda*, but his personality is by no means unimportant. The long strides which he takes and the three steps by which he measures the universe are always described

[1] Das, S. K., *Śakti.*, pp. 142-43, 264; Cf. Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka*, vol. VI, *āhnika* 9, vs. 149-50.

[2] Somānanda, *Śivadṛṣṭi*, ed. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul (Intro.), p. 1.

[3] Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, pp. 172-73. (Rev. ed., pp. 298-99).

[4] Bhandarkar, R. G., *op. cit.*, p. 129.

with an enthusiastic spirit.[1] In the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, the earliest extant religious book of the Kashmiris, nearly 500 verses are devoted to the description of *tīrthas* connected with Viṣṇu.[2] Though Śiva was the supreme deity, Viṣṇu was nevertheless widely worshipped, as is shown by the space devoted to his shrines in this text.

Pandey believes Kṛṣṇa himself to have been taken by the Śaivas as a follower of the Trika, on the basis of the fact that in the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* we are told that Kṛṣṇa was taught the sixty-four monistic Śaivāgamas by sage Durvāsas.[3] Though the Purāṇas are quite later, the Kashmiri *Nīlamatapurāṇa* which we have referred to above is the earliest extant work about Kashmir faiths and the reference wherein Kṛṣṇa himself declares that the land of Kashmir is Pārvatī and its ruler the god Śiva's part, seems to refer to quite early times.[4]

The *Daśāvātāracarita* of Kṣemendra is devoted to the description of the ten incarnations *(avatāras)* of Viṣṇu—Matsya (fish), Kūrma (tortoise), Varāha (boar), Narasiṁha (man-lion), Vāmana (dwarf), Paraśurāma, Śrīrāma, Śrīkṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki.[5] The most interesting is the reference to Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* also refers to Buddha as such and prescribes the celebration of his birthday in the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha when Puṣya constellation is in conjunction with the moon. All the details of the method of such a celebration have also been mentioned.[6] In the writings of Abhinavagupta there are many quotations from the *Bhagavadgītā* and also references to Kṛṣṇa as *guru*. The *Bhagavadgītārthasaṁgraha* of Abhinavagupta gives a summary of the subject-matter of the *Bhagavadgītā* and claims to explain its hidden and true import.[7]

[1] Bhandarkar, R. G., *op. cit.*, p. 33. See Suryakanta, *The Essence of Vaiṣṇavism*, *IHQ*, 32, 1956, No. 4, pp. 359-67.

[2] *Nīlamata.*, vs. 1069-1648.

[3] Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, pp. 55f., (p. 63, rev. ed.).

[4] *Supra*, p. 72.

[5] Kṣemendra, *Daśāvatāracarita*, K. M. 26; see *Cāru.*, v. 99 for Kṣemendra's reverence for Viṣṇu.

[6] See *supra*, p. 272; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 684ff.

[7] Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka*, vol. I, pp. 162-63.

We have already related the reverence shown by the Kashmir kings to Sun-god. The worship of Sūrya in Kashmir is associated with the famous Mārtaṇḍa temple, said to have been built by King Lalitāditya.[1] This temple has a three-headed image—a symbol of the Sun as Brahmā, or the creator in the morning, the Viṣṇu or the preserver at noon, and Śiva or the destroyer at evening. The four arms are typical of Viṣṇu-Sūrya worship.[2] This makes it clear that the worship of the Sun was closely related to that of Viṣṇu, and the two gods may well have been often thought of as one. We have already related the story about Viṣṇu being considered in Kashmir as the very Śakti of god Śiva.[3] Here we find, what we stated at the outset, that there is always great similarity under the superficial differences; and this also accounts for the harmonious existence of the various cults side by side.

[1] *Rājat.*, IV.187ff.

[2] *JASB*, 1848, p. 266, plate XVI; cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Part II, ch. 11, vs. 8-11 (Gorakhpur ed.).

[3] *Supra*, p. 85.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Our period, as we have seen, marked the advent of a new dynasty on the throne of Kashmir. We have to bear in mind that we are not dealing with an empire in the heart of India but an isolated hill kingdom, protected by its mountain ramparts and yet exercising a considerable influence on the adjoining hill states. The advent of the Loharas brought Khaśa rulers of the solar line of Kṣatriyas to the throne of Kashmir and also led to its unification with the hill kingdom of Lohara.[1] The age of the Loharas does not mark the extensive conquests of the Kārkoṭas, but it shows that the kingdom of Kashmir was to be reckoned supreme among all the adjoining hill states.[2] The ties with some of them were strengthened by matrimonial alliances. The kingdom of Rājapurī lying to its south-west, though a constant source of trouble during the rule of the Lohara dynasties as a safe refuge for disaffected or exiled ministers and rival claimants to the throne, was later brought into close ties of a matrimonial alliance by Jayasiṁha,[3] the last great Hindu ruler of Kashmir.

The most important political event in the beginning of the eleventh century—the time of the advent of the Loharas in Kashmir—was the series of invasions of India led by Mahmūd of Ghaznī. Though the Kashmirian forces sent to help the Śāhi King Trilocanapāla were not successful, Mahmūd's subsequent attempts to invade the Valley were foiled by the great mountain barrier.[4] The first great event during our period in the political history of Kashmir is the *darbār* of hill *rājās* held under the suzerainty of King Kalaśa in A.D. 1087/88.[5] Moreover, as late as the middle of the twelfth century, in the reign of King

[1] *Supra*, pp. 27-28, 38-39, 41.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 42, 58f.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 41, 47, 49-51, 58-59, 67.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 28ff.
[5] *Supra*, p. 42.

Jayasiṁha, the kingdom of Kashmir held quite a powerful position and the neighbouring kingdoms sought its help and alliance. In the rest of India also it held a respectable position as is shown by the presence of the envoys of the kings of Kanauj and Koṅkaṇa in Maṅkha's *sabhā* held in the time of Jayasiṁha.[1]

Political affairs nearer home were characterised by the attempts of the various rival claimants to the throne. Ananta's cousin Kṣitirāja had bestowed the kingdom of Lohara on Utkarṣa, the younger son of Kalaśa, thus uniting the two kingdoms under kings of the same family. The Loharas had other lateral branches. Thus Malla's sons Uccala and Sussala aspired to the throne and in alliance with the landed aristocracy, the Ḍāmaras and the newly rising agricultural class known as Lavanyas, also termed Ḍāmaras, brought about the downfall of the first Lohara dynasty. Things might have had a different course if Harṣa had ruled differently. His extravagant expense on the fashions of the court, leading to the spoliation of the temples, and his ruthless persecution of the Ḍāmaras, resulted in the alienation of the feelings of all his subjects, including even the Brahmins.[2] The bureaucracy, instead of organising the machinery of government, robbed the public of all their wealth through excessive revenue exactions and taxation. Kṣemendra has recorded that King Ananta tried to curb the power of the Kāyasthas. Kalhaṇa records King Uccala's reforms in this sphere but the avaricious kings used them for robbing the public. In fact, however, the officials looted the people's wealth and even the kings did not get an adequate revenue from their extortionate schemes.[3]

Kingship in Kashmir was hereditary with the succession governed by the principle of primogeniture. The king was advised by a body of councillors but he was not bound to act on their advice.[4] Not the king's high ministers and councillors but the Brahmins, especially those of the Purohita corporations

[1] *Supra*, p. 67.
[2] *Supra*, p. 48.
[3] *Supra*, p. 115.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 72ff.

(pārişadyas), are seen opposing the king. Though their influence was not always beneficial they caused considerable trouble if they were not listened to and we find the kings even bribing them to obtain their support. Sometimes, we find them exercising considerable influence in consecrating the kings of their own choice.[1] The kingship in Kashmir, as shown in the earlier indigenous records like the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, is not stated to be merely divinely ordained, but the Divinity Himself personified in the form of His Śakti. The land itself is considered Pārvatī—thus bringing the land, people and the ruler into one organic whole.[2] The theory of kingship in Kashmir enjoined upon the king the duty of protecting his subjects and maintaining the triad of *dharma* (virtue), *artha* (wealth) and *kāma* (pleasure). The good kings aspired to come to these tenets, while those who did not, receive Kalhaṇa's reproach. These theories of kingship compare very well with those of the Indian Epics and Smṛtis, while in actual practice we find a very interesting working of the Arthaśāstra doctrines of state policy under the rulers of the second Lohara dynasty, who receive Kalhaṇa's full support.[3] It was the Machiavellian diplomacy of the rulers of this dynasty which enabled them to cope with the situation at their accession and to maintain themselves on the throne of Kashmir for so long.

Constant sources of trouble were the Ḍāmaras. The advent of Loharas brings this section of Kashmir society into prominence. Their strength lay in their landed estates, but they were in no way the feudal barons of the Medieval European type. They were an indigenous aristocracy grown steadily by the acquisition of wealth. Though recognized later and incorporated into the state order, they were originally not *sāmantas* in the real sense of the word. The kings had crown lands like the medieval kings of England; there were the *sāmantas*, the feudatories of these kings; and also the landed aristocracy helped and served by their peasant tenants, in no way directly in contact with the king. Thus the various elements of

[1] *Supra*, pp. 215f.

[2] *Supra*, p. 72.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 57f., 68, 78f.

feudalism in its loose sense, the monarchy and the corrupt bureaucracy existed side by side like those existing in Buganda.[1]

In religion, during our period, we have seen that though the Brahmanical section of society was deeply versed in idealistic monism, there existed Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava and Tantric sects side by side with perfect toleration of each other. The Brahmins were generally tolerant, though our authors invariably mention the Tantric *gurus* with contempt evidently owing to some of the base practices of the followers of this sect. Buddhism, though not so strong as it was in early period, was held in great esteem and had been incorporated into the Hindu religion and Buddha was considered as one of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. In fact we find a marvellous religious harmony in Kashmir.[2]

On superficial observation it would appear that there was deterioration in the moral standards of society, but looking to the existence of men like Kṣemendra, the polymath, Kalhaṇa, the great poet-historian, Somadeva; the poet-laureate of the court of Ananta; Maṅkha, the author of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, and the great Śaivite philosopher and teacher Abhinavagupta and others, we believe that the age of the Loharas was one of great progress, of literary activity of a social, historical and philosophical nature. That Kṣemendra sneers at the snares of the courtesans, and also exposes the laxity that had entered in the morals of the people of his day, does not necessarily mean that it was an age of deterioration. Texts such as Kṣemendra's had existed long before, for we have Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* in India and Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmatam* in Kashmir. Kṣemendra himself says that he brought the evils of society into the limelight and used his satire as a means of expressing his views before the public in a humorous way and to advise the young men of his age to desist from evil ways. Such evils exist in every society in all ages. The literary records of the then existing evils of society show some deterioration in the moral standards but they also indicate that there were men who were quite concerned over such a state of affairs and tried to remove them indirectly.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 170ff.

[2] *Supra*, chapter six.

Having considered all the aspects of the social position of women in Kashmir, we conclude that the women in general held a respectable position, thought it was in no way equal or superior to that of men. There are instances to show that Kalhaṇa's age regarded women as the most venerable members of society, but their field was mainly domestic. We also have cases of queens who rose on to critical occasions and controlled the affairs of state strongly and efficiently. Sūryamatī, the queen of Ananta, managed affairs quite successfully. Diddā and Sugandhā are earlier examples. On the whole, however, where such queens rose to power, we find regret and remorse in Kalhaṇa's tone. Either he condemns them for not having committed *satī*[1] or he quotes scandals about their relationships with their ministers.

To sum up, we have seen that the rule of the Loharas lasted nearly about two centuries. Kalhaṇa's narrative ends in A.D. 1149-50 when Jayasiṁha was ruling. The later chronicles tell us that Jayasiṁha continued to rule till A.D. 1155 and was succeeded by his son Paramāṇuka and the dynasty came to an end in A.D. 1171.[2] The sudden fall of this great dynasty whose rulers were so brave, astute and diplomatic leaves one speculating as to the reasons for its end. If we recapitulate the history of the Loharas, we find that their advent marks a new epoch. Though most of the rest of India was sacked by Mahmūd, Kashmir remained safe in its isolation behind the great mountain barriers. The extortionate schemes of the earlier kings and the rapacity of the minor civil servants had already depleted the resources of the kingdom. The extravagance of the rulers of the first Lohara dynasty added to the trouble.

The advent of the second dynasty brought about the downfall of the first but it had given importance to a new force in the kingdom—the landed aristocracy. Their support became the bane of these rulers. They managed somehow to keep the Ḍāmaras under control, but the centrifugal tendencies were aggravated by the existence of rival claimants. These circumstances needed able rulers and the moment the strong hand of

[1] *Supra*, pp. 224f.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 70f.

Jayasiṁha was taken away the whole fabric apppears to have crumbled in the hands of his weak and imbecile successors. Though Kashmir continued under Hindu rulers for some two hundred years after this, her later history is one of continued anarchy and decline. The fall of the Loharas marked the close of an age, and the end of Hindu Kashmir's greatness.

APPENDIX I

KALHAṆA AND HIS CHRONICLE

Though every important Hindu court, no doubt, maintained archives and genealogies of its rulers, Kashmir is the only region of India in which a tradition of historical writing is known to have existed from a fairly early time. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is practically the sole extant product of Sanskrit literature possessing the character of a true chronicle,[1] for the numerous *praśastis* of the inscriptions, the biographical works or historical *kāvyas (caritas)* such as the *Harṣacarita* and the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, the legends of the epics and the king-lists of the Purāṇas, cannot be considered as history in the modern sense of the word, whatever their value as historical sources.

There was a tendency among ancient Indian authors to ignore writing anything about their own life or family in their works. Similarly it is only in the colophons attached to the end of each book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that Kalhaṇa, the author, mentions about himself as the son of Lord Caṇpaka—the great Kashmirian minister. This Caṇpaka has been identified quite accurately by Stein, on internal evidence, with a minister, the 'lord of the gate' *(dvārapati)*, mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the ill-fated King Harṣa's last days and the latter's ultimate end. While in the text of the chronicle, when writing about Caṇpaka though appreciatively[2] or even of Kanaka who has been identified with his uncle,[3] Kalhaṇa does not say anything about these persons as his relations—much less could we expect him to mention the details about himself or to tell us as to what made him undertake the writing of the history of Kashmir.

Kalhaṇa wrote the introduction to his chronicle in the year 4224 of the Laukika era or A. D. 1148-49 and completed it in the following year.

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, Intro., p. 4.

[2] *Rājat.*, VII.1177ff., 1586ff.; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, Intro., pp. 6-7.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII.1097. 1117; VIII.12ff.

Facts regarding the author and his life have been gleaned from his narrative and other contemporary writings. We do not get any direct reference to exactly what position he held, though we know for certain that he was in close contact with the court circles. On this point Dr. S. C. Ray has stated that Kalhaṇa's ambition of life was to write a chronicle of the kings of Kashmir and when Jayasiṁha became the king after the death of Sussala (A.D. 1127), Kalhaṇa became his court-poet.[1] We have no evidence in support of the view that he was Jayasiṁha's court-poet. Kalhaṇa's interest in the history of his country was probably stimulated as much by his patriotism and personal tastes as by the example of his predecessors. In the introductory part of his work he gives a glowing account of his native land, according to legend, reclaimed out of lake by Prajāpati Kaśyapa and protected by Nīla—a *nāga* or demigod.[2] Moreover, as he does not seem to have held any office, he had enough of time and freedom to take up this task. Along with his patriotism went his unique position among his fellow-poets and his unequalled interest in the archeological and historical remains of his native land. He furnishes an elaborate list of the foundations of towns, *vihāras*, *stūpas* and *agrahāras* and gives us descriptions of various shrines. Herein lies his excellence as a historian.

Kalhaṇa introduces his work with high praise of poets whose skill "surpasses even the stream of nectar, in as much as by it their own bodies of glory as well as those of others obtain immortality."[3] Thus the author looked upon himself not as a historian but as a poet *(kavi)* and his work primarily as a poem *(kāvya)*. The writing of history is thus for him 'subject to the same inspiration as poetry, and Clio is one with Calliope'.[4] As a *kāvya* the main sentiment used by him is *śānta* as he says "when the hearer has pondered over the sudden appearance of living beings, that last for a moment only, then let him judge of the sentiment of resignation *(śāntarasa)* which is to rule

[1] Ray, S. C., *IHQ*, XXXI, No. 3, September, 1959, p. 253, also see his *Early History & Culture of Kashmir*, p. 208 (rev. ed.).

[2] *Rājat.*, I.25-28.

[3] *Ibid.*, I.3.

[4] Basham, A. L.,

supreme in this work".[1] He was pained at the fragmentary and sketchy nature of the compositions of Suvrata and others before him. His aim in undertaking this composition, therefore, was to give a connected account where the narrative had become fragmentary, to correct the mistakes and to restore certainty to the confused narrative.[2] In order to accomplish this difficult task he had recourse to checking eleven works of former scholars as well as the extant *Nīlamatapurāṇa*. He also consulted the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants of former kings, laudatory inscriptions *(praśastipaṭṭas)* and written works (Śāstras).[3] Besides these, the internal evidence of the chronicle shows that he utilized the evidence of the coins, living tradition and eye-witnesses.

Kalhaṇa, however, does not claim originality. He mentions the names of Helārāja, Padmamihira, Chavillākara, Suvrata (whose condensed composition had made the previous chronicles fragmentary) and Kṣemendra among earlier writers.[4] But the interest that he takes, like a modern historian, in consulting the original sources such as inscriptions, land-grants and coins is Kalhaṇa's own innovation and stands to his credit as a great historian. About his own limitations, he says : "Though in view of the length of the narrative, diversity could not be secured by means of amplification, still there may be found in it something that will please the right-minded."[5] Still he is proud of whatever details he has been able to give when he says : "What intelligent man's heart would not be pleased by such a composition which treats of numberless events of ancient times ?"[6]

In short, in addition to the common didactic purpose and the entertainment for the learned, Kalhaṇa had in mind something of the modern conception of historical truth as well. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is free from poetic embellishments and hackneyed

[1] *Rājat.*, I.23.
[2] *Ibid.*, I.9-11, 21-22.
[3] *Ibid.*, I.14-15.
[4] *Ibid.*, I.11-14, 17-20.
[5] *Ibid.*, I.6.
[6] *Ibid.*, I.22.

description of seasons etc., but as stated above Kalhaṇa wants to make it clear that it is not due to ignorance of literary precept—diversity *(vaicitrya)*.

The text of the chronicle consists of eight books writtten in nearly 8000 verses. In view of the chronology, it may be roughly divided into three sections[1] :

(1) Books I-III; number of verses : 373+171+530=1074.

It deals with 3050 years, contains bare dynastic lists with legends and anecdotes. The marvellous element predominates, though there are pieces of genuine historical tradition mixed up.

(2) Books IV-VI; number of verses : 720+483+368=1571.

In the concluding part of Book IV, dates start becoming exact. These Books cover the Kārkoṭa and Utpala dynasties for which Kalhaṇa evidently made use of the works of earlier chroniclers, who were contemporaries or near contemporaries of the events they described. With the accession of Avantivarman of Utpala dynasty (A.D. 855/6-883), we get proper historical record with accurate dates.

(3) Books VII-VIII; number of verses : 1732+3349= 5081.

They cover the two Lohara dynasties (A.D. 1003-1171). Dates are accurate. For this period his sources were his father, uncle, family servants, ministers of state with whom he was in close contact and personal knowledge—about certain events he tells us that he was an eye-witness, e.g., his personal recollection of an incident connected with King Sussala's restoration (A. D. 1121).

The first three Books from Gonanda III give thirty-seven princes assigning them 1748 years—an average of forty-eight years. When we compare this average with an average of about eleven years each for the kings of the historical period (Books IV-VIII), when he has fifty princes ruling for 547 years, Kalhaṇa's want of critical judgment becomes manifest.

Book I: According to Kalhaṇa Aśoka ruled in 1182 B.C.[2] (actually third century B.C.) and he places King Kaniṣka even before 1182 B.C.—implying a chronological aberration of 1100 years.

[1] Stein., *Rājat.*, vol. I, pp. 62-63.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 64.

Mihirakula, the Hūna ruler, actually belonging to the first half of the sixth century (*vide* coins, inscriptions and Chinese sources) is, according to Kalhaṇa's system of chronology, placed in 704-634 B.C.—a difference of 1200 years. Khiṅkhila, belonging to fifth or sixth century on the basis of coins, is placed in 250-214 B.C. by Kalhaṇa—a chronological error of not less than 600 years.

Book II : None of the kings in this Book have been identified.

Book III : Absurdly three hundred years are assigned to Ranāditya, though we start meeting historical names in this book.

Book IV : Kārkoṭa dynasty : We owe historical evidence to check Kalhaṇa's dates for the early reigns of this dynasty to the Chinese annals, beginning with A. D. 600 and we have only to rectify these dates by addition of twenty-five years.

The responsibility for all the above inaccuracies did not lie with Kalhaṇa alone but in his sources which were so defective. We cannot, however, forgive him for having taken a legendary date as his starting point and then to have claimed merit.

Books V-VIII : As we reach the third period, the chronology is no longer hazy while thetopography throughout is accurate to the point. He gives accurate dates in years, months and days for the beginning (or end) as well as the important events of each reign.

The scope of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is not confined to political history only. It is a work of varied contents. Kalhaṇa discusses military details, foreign relations and various sections of the society. The administrative details that he supplies give us a clear picture of the state order—the king, his ministers and his dealings with them.

To sum up, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is not a mere genealogical record, no bald archival chronicle of a court, nor is it dedicated to the glory of an individual or institution. Rather it is a composite portrayal of the whole past of the whole people of Kashmir. With the fullness of his narrative Kalhaṇa has rescued the annals of his land from further fragmentation or threatened oblivion—even by unflinchingly recording the depths of human degradation.

KALHAṆA'S POSITION

In the assembly of poets mentioned by Maṅkha, a fellow countryman and contemporary of Kalhaṇa, in his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, one *kavi* Kalyāṇa is mentioned, and Maṅkha describes him as holding a distinguished position among the expert masters of the *kāvya* as a poet whose art of writing had become so polished as to reflect Bilhaṇa's muse as if in a mirror, and whom "the illustrious Alakadatta thought capable of accomplishing fully his chosen task (as a composer of poetry)". This poet Kalyāṇa has been identified quite accurately by Stein with Kalhaṇa on phonological grounds and on the internal evidence of the work itself.[1]

Maṅkha belonged to a family of poets and ministers. His brother Alaṁkāra, in whose house this assembly was held, was the superintendent of the great treasury *(bṛhadgañja)*[2] and later the chief-justice *(bāhyarājasthānīya)*.[3] Maṅkha speaks of his brother Alaṁkāra as holding the post of the minister for War and Peace *(sandhivigraha)* under Sussala and Jayasiṁha.[4] Śṛṅgāra, another brother of his, was a judge *(bṛhattantrapati)*.[5] Kalhaṇa also mentions Śṛṅgāra as holding the post of *tantrapati*.[6] In view of the composition of the two poems, *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* as suggested by Bühler in A.D. 1135-45 and the *Rājataraṅgīni* in A.D. 1148-50, we can believe both[7] because Alaṁkāra might have held these posts in succession. Maṅkha himself is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as holding the post of minister for War and Peace *(sāndhivigrahika)*. Kalhaṇa's praise in the assembly of such people as a great poet shows that he held a respectable position not only in literary circles as a great master of the *kāvya* but also among the high dignitaries of state. Moreover, while talking of the reign of his contemporary King Jayasiṁha,

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, Intro., p. 12, vide *Śrīkaṇṭha.*, XXV.78-80.

[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.2423.

[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.2557, 2618; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII.2671, note.

[4] *Śrīkaṇṭha.*, III.62; XXV.61.

[5] *Rājat.*, VIII.2422; *Śrīkaṇṭha.*, III.50-51 : *Bṛhattantrādhipatidharmādhikāryantarajño bṛhattantrasya sthūlaśāstrasya patiḥ sa katham viśeṣam rahasyam jānāti.*

[6] *Rājat.*, VIII.2422.

[7] Bühler, *Report*, p. 50; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, p. 12, note.

Kalhaṇa quotes words spoken by the king himself.[1] It would not have been possible for him to mention the faults of the king in his own words unless the quotation was substantially true and was told to Kalhaṇa by some very intimate source.

Kalhaṇa's work does not give any evidence to show that he himself held any office under the rulers of the new dynasty. There are two possible suggestions about his position—that he was a court-poet, or that, as suggested by Stein,[2] his family, disgusted with King Harṣa's fate, voluntarily decided not to take up office at the court, and that consequently he took up an independent position of a poet and teacher in the Śaivite philosophy. The first appears difficult to accept in view of the fact that he uses such strong language while talking of Jayasiṁha, his contemporary king, which is quite contrary to the general tendency of all court-poets and chroniclers in ancient India who extol their ruling kings so highly. To say that this frankness was peculiar to Kashmir would also be incorrect, for even Bilhaṇa and Kṣemendra, while writing of their contemporary kings, speak very highly of them. Versed in the Dharmaśāstra and Nītiśāstra and the Epic lore and with all the requisite training in state-craft from his father, who was the Warden of the Marches, Kalhaṇa was quite capable of holding some high post in the state. As suggested by Stein, "the dynastic revolution which had cost King Harṣa his throne and life, had a lasting effect on the fortunes of Kalhaṇa's family . . . it is hence evident that Kalhaṇa's father, who in Harṣa's reign had occupied one of the highest posts of old Kaśmīr administration, played no longer any part in public life after that monarch's death. Whether this retirement was entirely voluntary or otherwise, we can no longer ascertain. That it was, however, connected in some way with the loyal attachment which Caṇpaka, according to the Chronicle, had proved to the last for the ill-fated king, seems likely enough."[3]

As for the third point, the introductory verses prefixed to each book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* contain prayers addressed to

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.2933.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, p. 17.

[3] *Ibid.*

Śiva in his form as Ardhanārīśvara, representing the god Śiva in His union with His spouse Pārvatī. Moreover, there is a small work written by Kalhaṇa known as the *Ardhanārīśvara Stotra*.[1] This shows his Śaivite leanings, and is in full accord with his father Caṇpaka's gifts and visits to the *tīrthas* of Nandikṣetra (*mod.* Nand Kol. 13,000 ft.), all of which are sacred to Śiva. Moreover, one Kalyāṇa is known as the teacher of Jayaratha, the commentator of the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta (*c.* A.D. 995-1115), the great Śaivite philosopher.[2] Jayaratha is stated to have flourished in the twelfth century under King Rājarāja. The name of this king cannot be identified with any of the Kashmirian kings in those times, but on the other hand in point of time and Śaivite beliefs this Kalyāṇa appears to be none else than the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and if this argument be accepted, it further strengthens Bühler's identification of Kalyāṇa with Kalhaṇa.[3] Kalhaṇa thus seems to have chosen an independent position and even in choosing his subject there does not appear to be any expectation of reward, such as ordinarily was the case with poets in India. He was commissioned to write the history of Kashmir by his patron Alakadatta, the minister for War and Peace *(sāndhivigrahaka)*, as it is known from Jonarāja's commentary on the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*.[4] Nor does he seem to have been in any disfavour at the court, for if he could reach these high court circles it should not have been difficult for him to obtain a high post too, if he chose to do so. To say that it was Jayasiṁha's policy not to employ a supporter of the first Lohara dynasty—Kalhaṇa's father having been a great minister under King Harṣa—also sounds strange in view of the fact that Jayasiṁha started his reign by a declaration of general amnesty and tried to appease the Ḍāmaras (the landed aristocracy) whose turbulence had been the cause of the downfall of the first Lohara dynasty. Some of the Ḍāmara leaders like Gargacandra were put into high ministerial posts and he had matrimonial alliances

[1] *Kāvyamālā*, XIV.

[2] Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, p. 149 (Rev. ed., p. 262).

[3] Bühler, *Report*, p. 61.

[4] *Śrīkaṇṭha.*, XXV.78-80.

with some of them.[1] There does not, therefore, appear to be any reason for the king to neglect or disfavour a man of Kalhaṇa's calibre. The pardoning of Bhoja, the son of Salhaṇa and a new pretender who had obtained powerful allies in the Daradas, the northern neighbours of Kashmir, at a time when the Ḍāmaras were in revolt, shows that Jayasiṁha was a diplomatic and astute ruler.[2]

In the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* it is stated that Śṛṅgāra, who held the office of a judge, helped Sussala in his war against Harṣadeva, whom he ultimately defeated.[3] This family was the opponent of Kalhaṇa's father in the war against King Harṣa. Yet Kalhaṇa speaks very highly of these brothers in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, though his praise is not one-sided. The way in which Maṅkha speaks of Kalhaṇa in his book shows that there was no ill feeling between the two families. Thus if his merit was so highly recognized by those who might have been his opponents, there could not possibly be any difficulty for him to get a high post, nor could there be any reason for him to be in special disfavour with the ruling king.

Lastly the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* was written earlier than the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the last limit of its date, as fixed by Stein, being A.D. 1144.[4] Its praise of Kalhaṇa shows that he had an established position, not that of one struggling for recognition.

APPENDIX II

KALHAṆA'S IMPARTIALITY

In the very opening verse of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Kalhaṇa promises to acquit himself impartially when he says: "That noble-minded (poet) is alone worthy of praise whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past."[5] S. C. Ray rightly commends Kalhaṇa's rare

[1] *Supra*, pp. 62-63.
[2] *Rājat.*, VIII.3233ff.
[3] *Śrīkaṇṭha.*, III.47-49.
[4] Bühler, *Report*, p. 50; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, p. 12, note.
[5] *Rājat.*, I.7.

sense of appreciation of the philosophy of history, a quality rare among the writers of the past. He adds : "He does not use the facts to illustrate his thesis, much less does he manipulate them to fit a doctrine of his own; his philosophy waits upon the facts and does not govern them."[1]

Kalhaṇa does not hesitate to point out the errors and weaknesses of all the kings—even of the king who was his contemporary. He praises the valour and victories of King Lalitāditya but without any hesitation he mentions the fit of drunkenness in which he ordered his ministers to burn the town of Parihāsapura.[2] Nor does he hesitate in mentioning all the evil ways of King Harṣa, his father's patron.[3] Uccala, Harṣa's successor, is praised for his energy, resolution, his solicitude for the people's welfare and piety, but equally strongly is he criticised for his harshness of speech and other defects.[4] Sussala, Jayasiṁha's father, though praised for his good qualities, is strongly condemned for his cruel exactions, and persecution of the Ḍāmaras and Kāyasthas. Kalhaṇa openly talks of the king's character and does not hesitate to mention the rumour that he was possessed of a demon.[5] He freely bestows the highest praise on the valour and heroism of the pretender Bhikṣācara.[6] In his account of the contemporary King Jayasiṁha, he finds it necessary to give him a certain amount of conventional praise, which, however, is interspersed with references to the good and bad qualities of his character. While starting the narration of the events of the reign of his contemporary king, he takes us back to the claim made in the very beginning of his book when he says: "If we examine carefully the qualities such as they are in reality, of a king who is under our direct observation, we shall not fail as regards an impartial judgment."[7] But he understands the toughness of his job. The

[1] Ray, S. C., *IHQ*, September, 1955, p. 255.
[2] *Rājat.*, IV.310ff.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 48-49.
[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.168ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.654, 675, 1143, 1460-62.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.1017, 1740, 1768, 1776.
[7] Stein, *Rājat.*, VIII.1551.

following are some of his remarks about Jayasiṁha :

"Nobody is indeed clever (enough) to penetrate the true character of another such as he is (in reality); how (should he then penetrate) that of such a king of supernatural power ?"[1]

"How should the mind of everybody find its way to a right conclusion as regards the nature of his virtues and faults, which is so wonderful ?"[2]

"Uneven indeed are the features also in his character not perceiving the excellence of their (aggregate) results, people have concluded that there were faults."[3]

"On hearing of his transcendental virtues as observed by direct perception, the people will feel convinced as regards the deeds of former kings."[4]

Next, Kalhaṇa mentions the king's cleverness, farsightedness, kindness, politeness, firmness, cool composure and calls him sun among kings.[5] After mentioning his pious foundations, his regard for *gurus*, scholars, Brahmins, his care of the helpless, and his restoration of old buildings, he writes : "Notwithstanding that he is of such character, yet, because he has once committed acts of enmity against persons equal (in respectability) to religious students *(brahmacārins)*, he is said by dull persons to be altogether an embodiment of cruelty."[6] Here we find Kalhaṇa trying to defend the king's cruel behaviour. It appears that some people had grievances against him; rather than ignore this fact he tries to defend him on the basis of the aggregate results of his rule.[7]

Bhikṣācara's rebellion is suppressed and Kalhaṇa bestows praise on Jayasiṁha. He praises this king's cool composure at the news of Lohara rebellion. Praise in such cases is but natural and some sort of conventional gratitude would be due to the king. Further, Kalhaṇa mentions the suppression and later

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1552.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.1554.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.1555.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.1557.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.1714-1806.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.2381.
[7] Cf. *Ibid.*, VIII.1555.

resurgence of the rebellion.[1] The suppression he attributes to the king's glory and the resurgence to the error of judgment on the part of ministers. He puts some conventional praise into the mouth of a royal messenger who goes to prince Bhoja of Salhaṇa's family, when he is brought to the king and is reconciled. All this appears very natural in the context of the situation.[2]

The king's expedition to Śiraḥśila Castle[3] is boldly criticised. He disapproves of the king's conduct in connection with intrigues against Sujji, his minister : "What other king would act firmly on his own judgement, if this (king) too is made to dance like a child (pulled about) by rogues."[4] Though this weakness is said to be due to the wickedness of others, an alternative reason is suggested : "Or is it perhaps, that the dullness imparted in early youth by an entourage chiefly composed of fools does not pass away even in mature age, just as the flaw (does not pass away) from the precious stone."[5] "Even during Sussala's (Jayasiṁha's father's) contest for the crown there was not seen such distress as there arose on all sides during that of his own."[6]

Next, the king's policy is criticised.

"It is nothing new that kings should commit wrongs owing to their mind departing from the right way in their haste to achieve their object."[7]

"In truth the service of kings is more dangerous than the raising of a demon *(vetāla)*, the leap over a precipice, the chewing of poison, or the fondling of a snake."[8]

On the whole, Kalhaṇa boldly lays bare the weaknesses of the king's policy. Perhaps the praise that he bestows on Jayasiṁha in the beginning is a sort of compensation for all that he has to say, sometimes too boldly, in the body of his

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.1714, 1900, 2915.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII.3045-46.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII.2521.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII.2029-32.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII.2033.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII.2809.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII.2975.
[8] *Ibid.*, VIII.2187.

narrative of this king's reign.

On superficial examination one feels that the author is all praise for the king, that he is trying to defend him at every step, but after having seen the context of each occasion when he praises or criticises him, we are convinced that Kalhaṇa comes up to the standards of impartiality that he promises at the start. While defending the king he gives his arguments in support of each case, but he also lays bare before us some of his imprudent acts and bad policy.

Moreover, praise in the case of King Jayasiṁha is well deserved. From the study of the history of Kashmir both before his accession and during his reign we know how turbulent were the times and how difficult it was to cope with the rebellions of the Ḍāmara aristocracy and the rival claimants. King Jayasiṁha's long rule and his success in keeping these elements in control (A.D. 1128-49/55) show that he was an able ruler.

In all the above instances we find that Kalhaṇa is conscious of the fact that he is writing for his contemporary king and that too much praise of the ruling king would bring his claims of impartiality in question. From Maṅkha we learn that after completing a composition, it would ordinarily be put to discussion before poets, dignitaries of state and important persons from other states in India. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* may also have been put to the same test. We have seen that Kalhaṇa keeps the possibility of public criticism also in mind while writing about this king; he gives explanations of his praise and sometimes writes in guarded language while criticising; this leaves very little chance of his having suppressed the facts, or of his having extolled the king undeservedly. It is also important to note Kalhaṇa's praise of the king in the last verse, and his wishes for the king's longevity, but along with this is a warning against future indulgence in evil. He had examples of even good kings falling into malicious ways : "Even the water, which is liquid by nature freezes and turns in time hard as stone, while the stone may dissolve into water. Under that wonderful dominion of time which has witnessed even in the beings of exceptional greatness, the rapid change of unlimited might,

whose nature can remain unchanged on the road laid out by the power of fate ?"[1]

That the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is the only Kashmiri historical composition of merit and that earlier compositions are not to be found anywhere, shows that Kalhaṇa's book was acceptable to the king and public alike who preserved it down to the present day.

APPENDIX III

HISTORIOGRAPHY IN KASHMIR

In most of Hindu India we do not find historical literature in the Western sense of the word, though it is admitted that every ancient Indian court had its genealogists or court-poets. We have historical *kāvyas (caritas)* but they have their limitations as sources of historical information in their panegyrical character and abundance of obscure allusions. Kashmir had from fairly early times a tradition of historical writing, which, especially with Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* comes "nearest in character to the Chronicles of Medieval Europe and of the Muhammadan East."[2]

As a result of his searches for ancient Kashmirian coins and their analysis, A. Cunningham critically controlled Kalhaṇa's records and succeeded in fixing with fair accuracy the dates for almost all the kings from the advent of the Kārkoṭa dynasty onwards.[3] None of Kalhaṇa's sources except the extant *Nīlamatapurāṇa* has been found to enable us to check his records, but the fact of the authenticity of his dates tends to show that it was from the Kārkoṭa dynasty onwards that the tradition of the writing of history started in Kashmir. It does not seem to have started earlier because Kalhaṇa did not possess authentic

[1] *Rājat.*, VIII.3406.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, p. 4.

[3] Cunningham, A., *JNS*, No. XX, p. 1ff., quoted by Stein; *Rājat.*, vol. I, Preface, p. xi.

records for Mihirakula, the white Hūṇa ruler.[1] By the time of Kalhaṇa, however, the idea of writing history seems to have been pretty well developed.

Kṣemendra, while discussing the qualities of poets in his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, considers *itihāsa* also as one of their requisite accomplishments.[2] By *itihāsa* he does not mean anything other than history as such because he himself is stated to have written a chronicle *(Nṛpāvalī)*,[3] though no copy of it has been found so far. Kalhaṇa refers to Kṣemendra's work as full of mistakes. In the history of Kashmir translated by Mullah Ahmad in the reign of King Zain-ul-Abīdīn, it is stated that Kṣemendra's work was replete with inaccuracies. We do not know whether the author really compared the works of Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa or just took latter's words and repeated them in his work. With Kṣemendra's varied tastes and satirical proclivity of mind, his history, had it survived, would have given us some very valuable material for a comparative study of Kalhaṇa's work. Earlier than Kṣemendra, Alberūnī (A.D. 1030), while discussing Indian eras, makes mention of the Kashmir calendar and the dates therein. This calendar, it appears, was nothing else but a chronicle by some earlier writer. This clearly shows that copies of a Kashmir chronicle existed in other parts of India as well as in Kashmir itself.[4] Regarding the lack of attention of Hindus in relating the chronological succession of their kings Alberūnī states that the Śāhi rulers of Kabul had a pedigree of their royal family written on silk, existing in Nagarakoṭṭa, which he could not see, though he very much wanted to.[5] These are probably the same records as Hieun Tsang refers to as Ni-lo-pi-tu or ch'a *(nīlapītam)* and which contained official annals and state papers. The colour "blue and yellow" speaks of the colour of the silk on which the records were inscribed—a Chinese custom.[6]

[6] Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* vol. XV, pp. 245f.

[1] *Kavi.*, tr. by Suryakanta, ch. II, vs. 6-7; cf. *Cāru.*, V.65.

[2] *Rājat.*, I.13; Anand Kaul, *JRASB*, vol. IX, p. 200.

[3] *Alberūnī's India*, vol. II, p. 5.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

[5] Bagchi, P. C., *India and China*, pp. 196f.; Watters, T., *Travels*, vol. I, p. 154.

The *Vaṁśāvalis* of Nepal go back to the ninth century and they indicate the reigns and events occurring during a particular reign.[1] In Assam the Ahoms introduced the practice of writing historical annals—Buranjis. These dynastic records date from the time of King Śukapha in A.D. 1228-68.[2] Kalhaṇa's dates approach accuracy when he reaches the Kārkoṭa dynasty. During this time close contacts existed between Kashmir and T'ang China (A.D. 618-910).[3] The Chinese had traditions of maintaining historical records from very ancient times. Archival records were prepared in China for each individual court during the tenth and eighth centuries B.C. Scholars trace to the "Spring and Autumn Annals", the chronicle of the state of Lu from 722 to 481 B.C., edited by Confucius, the first authoritative expression of the idea that political morality should be upheld by the historian, that it is a function and responsibility of his calling to apportion praise and blame in due measure, not by extended personal comment, but by the manner and emphasis of his record. No other ancient nation possesses records of its whole past so voluminous, so continuous, or so accurate as those of China.[4]

King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir had great love for learning. We have already referred to his having induced Atrigupta, the ancestor of Abhinavagupta, to come and settle in Kashmir.[5] He had a minister from Tokhara (Upper Oxus) referred to with the corrupt form of a Chinese name, Caṅkuṇa. Names of the Kashmirian kings of the Kārkoṭa dynasty are found in the Chinese Annals : it, therefore, appears that historiography in Kashmir arose through close contacts with the Chinese and received further encouragement through the king's love for learning. Chinese influence has been recognised in the remains at Pandrethan and Parihāsapura which date from the reign of King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.[6] The existence of the brothr-to-

[1] Bagchi, P. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 196f.

[2] Bhuyan, S. K., *Assam Buranji*, Intro., pp. xxxvff.

[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, p. 67.

[4] Gardner, *Chinese Traditional Historiography*, pp. 10, 15, 105.

[5] Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, Appendix A, p. 337, vide *Tantrāloka*, vol. XII, *āhnika*, 37. *Supra*, p. 294.

[6] Goetz, H., *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, p. 106.

brother succession to the throne practised by the Kārkoṭas again speaks of Chinese influence and we do not find this repeated after them.[1]

In India also the practice of writing histories was followed mostly in outlying kingdoms which were in close contact with China for several centuries. The Muslims had also a highly developed sense of historiography, but the period for which Kalhaṇa starts giving authentic records does not suggest that the Kashmirians could have got it from the Muslims. Kashmir, protected by its mountain walls, remained for long unaffected by the Muslim invasions. A century earlier than Kalhaṇa's time, however, we find traces of Muhammadan influence due to the defeat of the Śāhis of Kabul at the hands of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, but historiography was already there long before this time.

Kalhaṇa's chronicle was continued by Jonarāja, Śrīvara, Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śuka; none of these rises even to producing a faint reflection of his work, though sometimes they make a very poor attempt at copying him. The total extent of the three distinct works does not amount to more than about one-half of the text of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. As already mentioned, though Bilhaṇa had also taken up a historical theme for his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (A.D. 1088), it is in all its essentials a *kāvya* and not history.[2] No doubt Hindu learning suffered considerably during the period of turmoil before Akbar's conquest (excluding Zain-ul-Abīdīn's reign) but even the Mohammedan historians were more interested in their own period than in the nearer past. Some account of the Hindu period that their works contain, is translated from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*—mostly from the legendary and anecdotal part. While writing of the life and conditions of the people of Hindustan under the Muslim Sultans of Delhi (A.D. 1200-1550), Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf has observed : "Until lately history has suffered at the hands of historians, old and new, both in Asia and Europe, from a rather isolated and narrow conception of its scope. The old Eastern Court Chroniclers, in particular, confined themselves to kings and their battles, and thus turned history into 'a mere

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, Genealogical Table, pp. 142-43.

[2] *Supra*, p. 312.

record of butchery of men by their fellowmen'. But these barriers which restricted historical investigation are being slowly broken down. It is now coming to be universally recognized that nothing is 'beneath the dignity' of history's notice and outside the scope of its ken, and that all the doings and sufferings of mankind in every walk of life are proper subjects for a historian to investigate. Nay more; it is being asserted that unless historians do, as a matter of fact, take this extended and all-comprehensive view of their functions, they are bound to present a distorted picture of whatever age they may profess to portray. . . . We can be indulgent to a court chronicler of an earlier date who made his living by singing the praise of his patron, for not living up to the expectations of the science in the twentieth century".[1] Kalhaṇa has taken this extended and all-comprehensive view of his functions when we look into the details of his narrative. Curiously he seems to be fully aware of his responsibility in the modern sense when he mentions even about his limitations as a historian.[2]

We find a very interesting similarity between the *Heimskringla*[3] of Snorro Sturlesson, the statesman, poet, scholar and above all, the historian of the twelfth century Iceland, and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. Kalhaṇa's shortcomings for the earlier part of his work lay to a great extent in the type of material he was handling. On the other hand for the *Heimskringla* there existed a tradition of story-telling where the teller of the story was, in most cases, placed face to face with critical audiences. In the words of William Morris, "The chiefs themselves and their children and relatives would in most cases be numbered among the crowd of interested listeners, and would be certain, if necessary, to interrupt and correct the reciter, whenever his delivery failed in veracity as to facts or offended against fairness. In fact the story-teller was here at a school which enforced upon him the principle of impartiality and the

[1] Ashraf, K. M., *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, Intro., p. 6.

[2] *Supra*, p. 308.

[3] *The Heimskringla*, ed. William Morris and Eirikr Magnusson, vol. IV, p. xvii.

duty of carefully collecting facts; for to them must be left the task of showing which side to the story was in the right, which in the wrong, and to what extent. In this manner it came about, that to tell a story fairly and truthfully was a moral duty and the highest matter of honour, while telling a "leaning story" was regarded as the meanest of actions, and more than once cost the perpetrator his life. In the relations existing between reciters and their audiences lies hidden the cause of the faithfulness of the oral saga tradition of Iceland."[1]

The earlier books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* are unreliable and full of mythological stories. Stein has pointed out that to the Indian mind "the products of religious imagination and epic fiction . . . retain a matter of fact aspect even for the learned. That spirit of doubt does not arise which alone can teach how to separate tradition from historic truth, to distinguish between the facts and the reflection they may have left in the popular mind."[2] This seems very true when we note that the whole course of events from Lalitāditya's time onward is by popular tradition projected into the past and attributed to the judgment of the chivalrous hero whom the Kashmirians worshipped.

Here we cite some of the judgments passed on the *Heimskringla :*

"The *Heimskringla* is in reality a chronicle or rather a series of memoirs, of kings and other personages, and of the event in which they have been engaged in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and England, and other countries, from those early ages in which mythology and history are undistinguishably blended together, down to the period nearly of Snorro Sturlesson's own birth, to 1178. Snorro begins with Odin and the half fabulous tales of the Yugling dynasty, and, showing more judgment than many of the modern saga scholars and antiquaries, passes rather rapidly over these as an unavoidable introduction to authentic historical times and narratives. From the middle of the ninth century, from Halfdan the Black, who reigned from about the year 841 to about 863, down to Magnus Erlingsson, who reigned from about 1162 to 1184, he gives a continuous narrative of

[1] *The Heimskringla*, vol. IV, p. xvii.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, pp. 27-28.

events and incidents in public and private life, very descriptive and characteristic of the men and manners of those times—of the deeds of bold and bloody sea kings . . . and of their home and fire side also; and he gives every now and then very graphic delineations of the domestic manners, way of thinking, acting and living in those ages."[1]

Curiously enough Kalhaṇa records the first exact date on the accession of King Avantivarman in A.D. 855/56 and from thence onward the account that he presents before us, as far as it has been ascertained from the contemporary Indian sources and coins, has been found to be correct. As in the *Heimskringla*, so in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, we find that the last two books are the most graphic and detailed.

Snorri's "work stands unrivalled in the Middle Ages. In that class of literary production—the lively representation of historical events by incidents, anecdotes, speeches, touches true to nature, bringing out strongly the character and individuality of each eminent actor in historical events—it may be doubted if, ever since the Middle Ages, any, excepting Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott in their historical representations, have surpassed Snorro Sturlesson."[2] Kalhaṇa's greatness was recognised by the authors who followed him. Jonarāja writes : "Let my work which is mingled with that of Kalhaṇa Paṇḍita be accepted, for even the water of a reedy marsh is taken for drink when it has mingled with the water of a river."[3]

There is not much to compare between *The British History* translated by Geoffrey of Monmouth and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, for in the Introduction to this book J. A. Giles says : "We do not insert the British History in our series of early English records as a work containing an authentic narrative, nor do we wish to compare Geoffrey of Monmouth with Bede in point of veracity."[4] While Geoffrey's work was to translate the book from one

[1] *The Heimskringla*, vol. I, pp. 1-2.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 393.

[3] *Jona Rājat.*, ed. Durgaprasad, v. 26; Dutt, J. C., *Rājat.*, vol. III, p. 4.

[4] Giles, J. A., *The British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, Intro., p. xvii.

language into another, Kalhaṇa's endeavour was to reconstruct the past history on the basis of earlier records which had become fragmentary. About his style Geoffrey says : "If I had swelled the pages with rhetorical flourishes, I must have tired my readers, by employing their attention more upon my words than upon the history."[1] Similarly Kalhaṇa starts his work saying : "Though in view of the length of the narrative diversity could not be secured by means of amplification, still there may be found in it something that will please the right-minded."[2]

Geoffrey's account starts with the description of the first inhabitants of Britain while Kalhaṇa gives an account of the land of Kashmir and its reclamation by Kaśyapa. In the former the historian connects the events with Trojan War and the latter connects Gonanda I with the Mahābhārata War.[3] The difference in the narrative lies in the locale of the two themes. Exploits of Brutus resemble Babur's early endeavours or Alexander's campaigns.

In all the narrative of the *British History* we find mere relation of events. The author does not pass his own judgment. The records are more in the nature of the description of a society in the process of establishment. As for the genealogical summary added at Chapter XXV Giles has pointed out many anachronisms.[4] A number of scholars have appreciated the work of Kalhaṇa. Having gone through each and every verse of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and having read some of the European chronicles and the British Medieval Church historians, we reach the conclusion that Kalhaṇa's chronicle is far superior in every respect and stands as a class by itself—the author being a unique combination of a philosopher deeply versed in the religious lore of his day and a politician, not by way of mere political theories but as one deeply versed both in the theory and practice of the contemporary political thought.

[1] Giles, J. A., *The British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ch. I, p. 2.

[2] *Rājat.*, I.6.

[3] Giles, J. A., *op. cit.*, Book I, ch. II, p. 2; ch. III, p. 3; cf. *Rājat.*, I.25ff., 59f.

[4] Giles, J. A., *op. cit.*, Book III.

APPENDIX IV

THE KHAŚAS

Sanskrit literature contains frequent references to a tribe whose name is usually spelt Khaśa, with variants such as *Khasa*, *Khaṣa*, and *Khaśīra*. Grierson has stated that "the mass of Aryan-speaking population of the Himalayan tract in which Pahāṛi is spoken belongs, in the west, to the Kanét and, in the East, to the Khas caste . . . Kanéts themselves are closely connected with the Khaśas and one of their two sub-divisions bears that name."[1]

There is a legend regarding a woman named Khasā in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. The famous Kaśyapa, to whom is attributed the origin of the country of Kashmir, had numerous wives. Of these Krodhavaśā was the ancestress of the cannibal Piśitāśīs or Piśācas and Khasā of the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas. These Yakṣas were also cannibals and so were the Rākṣasas.[2] In Buddhist literature the Yakṣas correspond to the Piśācas of Hindu legend. There is also a verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which equates Yakṣas and Piśācas.[3] The *Mahābhārata* mentions Bāhlīka (inhabitants of Balkh); amongst them armed with swords and pikes were Daradas, Taṅgaṇas, Khaśas, Lampākas (now Kafirs of Hindukush), and Pulindas.[4] The *Mahābhārata* also gives a long account of the various gifts presented to Yudhiṣṭhira by the kings of the earth; among these are the Khaśas . . . the Pāradas (the people beyond the Indus), the Kulindas and the Taṅgaṇas.[5] In another passage the Khaśas are mentioned together with the Kāśmīras (Kashmiris), the inhabitants of Uraśā (the modern Punjab, district of Hazara), the Piśācas, the Kambojas (a tribe of the Hindukush), the Daradas (or Dards) and the Śakas (Scythians) as being conquered by Kṛṣṇa.[6] In the *Harivaṁśa*, the Khaśas are mentioned as despicable people. Many references to them

[1] Grierson, G. A., *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. IX, part IV, p. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, vide Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II.74ff.; part I, ch. 21, vs. 23-25 (Gorakhpur ed.); cf. *Nīlamata.*, v. 583.

[3] *Rājat.*, I.184. Cf. Bühler, *Report*, p. 40; *Nīlamata.*, vs. 325ff.

[4] Grierson, G. A., *op. cit.*, Intro., pp. 3-4.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[6] Cunningham, A., *Arch. Survey*, vol. XIV, p. 131.

occur in the *Viṣṇu* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* Purāṇas.[1] A verse in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*[2] mentions Khasa along with Kirāta, Hūṇa, Āndhra, Pulinda, Pulkasa, Ābhīra, Kaṅka and Yavana as outcaste tribes which attain purity by surrendering themselves to god Viṣṇu. In this connection we know that the rulers of Lohara, who were Khaśas, were also the adherents of the Viṣṇuite sect of the Bhāgavatas.[3] Khaśa is mentioned as one of the names of the countries in the north-eastern region in the Kūrmavibhāga (tortoise section) of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, along with Abhisāra, Dārada, Dārva, Ḍāmara, Kīras and Kaśmīras.[4]

In his paper "On Mount Caucasus" Captain Wilford has made an attempt to trace the Khaśas from Kashghar through Kashmir and Kumaon to the Khassiya hills in Assam.[5] Without agreeing with his arguments and conclusions, L. D. Joshi also believes in the theory of a very wide extension of a Khaśa race in the prehistoric times on the northern borders of India.[6] The antiquity of the Khaśas in the Himalayan districts is accepted by Grierson who believes that "the great mass of the Aryan speaking population of the Lower Himālaya from Kashmir to Darjeeling is inhabited by tribes descended from the ancient Khaśas of the *Mahābhārata*."[7] Śukra also places them after the people of the North.[8] The principal ethnic group in the Himalayas seems to have been the Mongoloid Khaśas whose settlements extended from eastern Turkistan (Kashghar) over Kashmir to Nepal and Assam (Khāśis).[9]

King Ananta's son Kalaśa had two sons—Utkarṣa and

[1] Grierson, G. A., *op. cit.*, vide *Harivaṁśa.*, v. 784; Pargiter, F. E., *Mārkaṇḍyea.*, LVII.56, LVIII.7, 12, 51.

[2] *Bhāgavata.*, sec. II, ch. IV, v. 18.

[3] *Rājat.*, VII.254-58.

[4] *Infra*, Appendix V. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, ch. X, v. 12; ch. XIV, vs. 6, 29-30, also mentions them as Khaṣa along with Kīra, Kaśmīra, Darada, Ḍāmara and many others as living in Iśānakoṇa.

[5] *As. Res.*, vol. VI, 1801, p. 455.

[6] Joshi, L. D., *Khasa Family Law*, p. 16.

[7] Grierson, G. A., *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[8] *Śukra*, ch. IV, sec. V, v. 98. People of Khaśa country marry the widows of their brothers. These people do not deserve penance or punishment because of their actions.

[9] Grierson, G. A., *loc. cit.*

Harṣa. Utkarṣa was the second son of Kalaśa and when the latter's cousin Kṣitirāja, son of Vigraharāja from Lohara, came to Kashmir disgusted with his own son, he made King Kalaśa agree to spare Utkarṣa to be crowned as the king of Lohara.[1] Later, Utkarṣa was called to Kashmir and in a certain verse Kalhaṇa calls Utkarṣa with contempt as a Khaśa, whom people did not like because of his avariciousness and wanted to have Harṣa as their ruler. It is interesting to note the use of the term Khaśa here for Utkarṣa because both Harṣa and Utkarṣa were the sons of Kalaśa who was as much a Khaśa as any of his sons. Perhaps it was owing to Utkarṣa having lived and ruled in Lohara from his childhood that Kalhaṇa uses the epithet Khaśa for him, or perhaps it implied that those who became the rulers of Kashmir were considered as much Kashmirians as the inhabitants of the Valley itself.

We get references in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* showing that people belonging to the region roughly comprising the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pir Panjal range between the middle course of the Vitastā in the west and Kāṣṭavāṭa (Kiṣṭvār) in the east [Lohara, Parṇotsa and the area in the south-west of Kashmir, Rājapurī (Rajouri) and Bāṇa-śālā (Banihal) etc.] were Khaśa, Khaśakas or Khāśakas.[2]

Referring to the Khaśīras as another name for Khaśas, Grierson has opined: "The name Kaśmīra (Kashmir) is by popular tradition associated with the famous legendary saint Kaśyapa, but it has been suggested, with considerable reason, that Khaśa and Khaśīra are more popular etymologies. At the present day, the Kāshmīrī word for 'Kashmir' is '*Kashīr*', a word which is strongly reminiscent of Khaśīra."[3] Since Khaśīraḥ and Kāśmīraḥ, quoted by Grierson himself, are referred to separately in the *Mahābhārata*, this theory requires further critical study.[4]

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.251-57.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, I.317, note; *Rājat.*, VII.217, 251ff., 979, 1271, 1276ff.; VIII.177, 393, 409-10, 887, 1074, 1466, 1722, 1726-28, 1739, 1754, 1762, 1773, 1868, 1895, 2283, 3006, 3031, 3088 (Khāśakas), 3181.

[3] Grierson, G. A., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 2; MBh., VI.375; Sufi, G. M. D., *Kashīr*, pp. 12-13; Dr. Ved Kumari, *The Nīlamatapurāṇa*, vol. I, pp. 21-23.

APPENDIX V

THE ḌĀMARAS[1]

The term *Ḍāmara* is one of common occurrence in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, and the people to whom it relates play a very significant part in the history of Kashmir, especially during the times of the first and the second Lohara dynasties. "The word Ḍāmara", states Stein, "in the sense in which it is used in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the later chronicles has not yet been traced outside Kashmir."[2]

The authors of the St. Petersburg Lexicon, with reference to a possible etymology, suggested that the word might have had originally a more general meaning, "riotous", "rebel".[3] "The true purport of the term", adds Stein, "was recognized only in a brief supplementary note of that work which reproduces a suggestion of Prof. H. Kern assigning to Ḍāmara the meaning Bojār, i.e., feudal landowner or baron."[4]

There is no denying the fact that the Ḍāmaras were really landowners, but we have doubts about the possible meaning "riotous" or "rebel", assigned to the word Ḍāmara in this particular case. Taking the word as etymologically connected with the root *dam* "to sound as a drum", as suggested by the St. Petersburg Dictionary, we can say that it might have originally been given to one of the indigenous tribes because of the boorishness and the riotous nature of these hilly people, and from that it may have been adopted to signify all such people in the land. The word Ḍāmara is found also in Jayaratha's commentary on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*,[5] where it is mentioned as one of the sixty-four tantras (a class of works

[1] This forms a part of the author's paper read at the International Congress of Orientalists, Munich, West Germany, 1957.

[2] *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 304.

[3] *P. W.* vol. III, p. 185; Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 304. Cf. *Cūlavaṁśa*, LXXIV.22-43; *ḍāmarikotta* is used for acts of violence.

[4] *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 304; cf. *P. W.*, vol. VII, p. 1747.

[5] Jayaratha's commentary on the *Tantrāloka*, I. 42-43. Jayaratha provides the list of sixty-four monistic Tantras on the authority of the *Śrīkaṇṭhī*, a Śaiva work. (Quoted by Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, p. 80 (p. 143 rev. ed.).

teaching magical and mystical formulae).[1] It is curious to note the same word being applied to a ritualistic text and to a class of people. Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* mentions Ḍāmaras in the list of the countries of the North Eastern region, along with Meruka, Naṣṭharājya, *Paśupāla*, *Kīra*, *Kaśmīra*, *Abhiśārada*, Tangaṇa, *Kulūta*, Saicindha, Rāṣṭra, *Brahmapura*, *Dārva*, *Ḍāmara*, Vanarājya, Kirāta, Cīna, Kauṇinda, Bhalla, Palola, Jaṭāsura, Kanaṭha, *Khaśa*, Ghoṣa, Kucika, Ekacarana, Anuviśva, Svaranabhūmi. Arnasudhana, Nandaviṣṭha, Paurava, Cīranivāsana, *Trinetra*, Punjādri, *Gandharva*.[2] In this list we have names of people like Paśupāla and Trinetra, which are epithets of the god Śiva. Ḍāmara, as already stated above, is the name of a tantra in Śaivite Tantric religion and Ḍāmara is also the name of one of the attendants of Śiva.

In Kashmir we find many references to people named after their epithets, such as Lavanya,[3] Balahara,[4] Tantrin,[5] and the like. We come across Dārvābhisāra—a clear reference to Dārva and Abhisāra as a joint name, and it has been identified by Stein with the lower hills between Jhelum and Chenab.[6] Stein refers to Kīra, appearing in the ethnographic list of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV. 29), as the name of a race located in the North-East along with Kaśmiras, Abhisāras and Dārads.[7] In the Chamba copper-plate grant of Āsaṭa, the Kīras are named between the Durgaras (Dogras) and Trigartas[8] (Kangra). Excluding of course the purely legendary names. Stein recognises the Abhisāras, Daradas, Dārvas, Khaśas, Kīras,

[1] Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 436, col. 1.

[2] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, ch. XIV, vs. 29-30. The words in italics are very familiar. C. Iyer falsely resolves the compound and gives the words *Dārvada*, and *Amara* instead of *Dārva* and *Ḍāmara*.

[3] Lavanya—a tribal group corresponding to Lūni Krām. See *Rājat.*, VII.1171, 1229, 1230. 1231, 1233, 1237, 1378; VIII.747, 776, 910, 956, 1010, 1032, 1268, 2538, 3447. Also see Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 523.

[4] *Rājat.*, VIII.2695, 2768.

[5] *Rājat.*, V.248-50, 255, 260, 265-66, 274-75, 287, 289, 293-95, 302, 328, 331, 338-40, 421, 431; VI.132; VII.1513; VIII.292, 303, 375, 510, 597, 928.

[6] *Rājat.*, VIII.1531. Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, I.180, note.

[7] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, VIII.2767, note.

[8] Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, p. 9.

and even the distant Kulūtas and Kauṇindas or Kaulindras "as the names of tribes which undoubtedly must be located in the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir."[1] As we have such people inhabiting the North-Eastern division of India according to Varāhamihira's classification, and as some of them have been identified by Stein, we can take Ḍāmara as one of them. Moreover, the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* was written much earlier than the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. It is, however, curious that the Ḍāmara in this ethnographical list missed Stein's notice, though he mentions the Kīras and others, who appear in the same verse, and takes them even as tribes. Perhaps taking the word etymologically and being quite convinced of its connection with "riot" or "strife", rather than of its being a tribal name, he did not notice it.

As already mentioned, we have other examples of the use of tribal names in Kashmir[2] to designate special sections of the people. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we find the Tantrins referred to as a body of foot-soldiers; these probably derived their designation from their tribal name, and owed their close organisation to ethnic affinities, but their original appellation was assimilated to the Sanskrit word *tantra*.

Kalhaṇa, while describing King Lalitāditya's injunctions on state policy, specifically mentions[3] the hill people first, and then he speaks of not allowing the villagers to have more food than is required for one year's consumption, otherwise they would become terrible Ḍāmaras. It is perhaps from this verse that Wilson concluded that the Ḍāmaras were a fierce intractable tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kashmir. Could it possibly be that the hill people referred to by Lalitāditya are the original Ḍāmaras whose specific characteristics might have given their name to the turbulent section of Kashmir society? We have references in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* wherein Ḍāmara and Lavanya are indiscriminately used for separate groups of people

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 365, note. According to G. L. Kaul (*op. cit.*, p. 38) the aborigines of Kashmir were called Ḍāmaras.

[2] *Supra*, p. 351.

[3] *Rājat.*, IV.347-48.

or for one and the same person.[1] Kalhaṇa gives us no evidence to show what the term Lavanya originally meant or how it came to be applied. As shown by Stein it is a tribal name still surviving to this day in the Krām name Lūni, borne by a considerable section of the agricultural population of Kashmir.[2] "From the way in which", he adds, "Kalhaṇa employs the name in the passages referred to, and from numerous others in which the Lavanyas are mentioned, it must be inferred that the mass of the Ḍāmaras was recruited from that tribal section. If this was the case the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations is easily accounted for."[3]

Basing his view on the geographical distribution of the Ḍāmaras in the whole of the valley of Kashmir and the mention of the epithet Lavanya for the first time in the reign of Harṣa, B. P. Mazumdar suggests that the Ḍāmaras did not belong to a particular tribe.[4] He adds : "Some Ḍāmaras have been called Lavanyas and from this Wilson concluded that all of them belonged to a tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kashmir."[5] It was from the passage referring to King Lalitāditya's injunctions to his ministers that Wilson concluded the above and not from the fact of Ḍāmaras being termed as Lavanyas.[6] As it is seen from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and as B. P. Mazumdar has himself stated, the term Lavanya occurs for the first time in the reign of King Harṣa;[7] while King Lalitāditya's time is much earlier. From Stein's note[8] that Kalhaṇa, in making Lalitāditya set forth the principles of Kashmir policy, is thinking in reality of his own times, one may be led to believe with him that the reference to Ḍāmaras at this early date is due

[1] Cf. *Rājat.*, VIII.48, 747, 780, 1032, 1033, 1124, 1127, 1992, 1993, 2009, 2012-13, 2220-21, 2337, 2338, 3284.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 306. Haider Malik in his *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* mentions the term 'Lon' for the Ḍāmaras and he refers to them as a tribe. *Ta'īfa*, MS. Folio No. 76 B.

[3] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 306.

[4] B. P. Mazumdar, *IHC*, 1946, p. 194.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 194. Quotes Wilson's *Essay*, pp. 51-71, regarding Ḍāmaras.

[6] Wilson, *Essay*, pp. 51-70ff. Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 304.

[7] Cf. *Rājat.*, VII.1171.

[8] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, IV.348, note.

to Kalhaṇa's imagination working into earlier times. We have, however, clear evidence in the cases of the minister Śūra and King Cakravarman[1] that much earlier than Kalhaṇa's own time Ḍāmaras had become quite powerful and were a terror to the rest of the population. As shown by Stein himself, we find characteristic indications of their growing influence during the period of comparative consolidation which followed Yaśaskara's accession (A.D. 939-48) and Queen Diddā's advent to power.[2] Both under Unmattāvanti (A.D. 937-39) and Diddā (A. D. 980/1-1003) special mention is made of the success of royal commanders-in-chief in coercive measures against the Ḍāmaras.[3]

As regards their original home, Mazumdar suggests that "the Lavanyas had come from the Lavana Parvata, which is contigous *(sic)* to Kashmir. Pṛthvihara and his son Koṣṭheśvara have been referred to as Lavanyas and Ḍāmaras. Trillaka, as Ḍāmara and a Lavanya, was a relative of Koṣṭheśvara. It is likely that they or their ancestors had come originally from Lavana Parvata and settled in Kashmir."[4] Mazumdar seems to have misunderstood the word Krām (originally meaning family appellation), when he wrongly quotes Stein, saying "Stein thinks that the Lavanyas were a tribal people inhabiting the Kram named Lun." As already quoted what Stein actually says is : "Lavanya is a tribal name still surviving to this day in the Krām name Lūn[1], borne by a considerable section of the agricultural population of Kashmir."[5]

It is from this misunderstanding of the words *Krām* and *Lūn[1]* that Mazumdar has suggested their original habitat as Lavana Parvata. We do not understand what specific area he means to suggest—whether he is thinking of the Salt Range of the Punjab hills or any other place, it is not clear. We have, however, Lavaṇotsa, said to be a town founded by Prince Baka of Mihirakula's race.[6] Stein could not find the position of

[1] *Rājat.*, V.48ff., 405ff.
[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 305.
[3] *Ibid.*; see *Rājat.*, V.447; VI.354.
[4] B. P. Mazumdar, *IHC*, 1946, p. 125.
[5] *Supra*, p. 333 fn. Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 306.
[6] Stein, *Rājat.*, I.329, note.

Lavaṇotsa, though the place is several times mentioned by Kalhaṇa. From a certain passage,[1] Stein understands that Srinagar could be reached by a single forced march from Lavaṇotsa and that Padmapura (modern Pampur) lay on the route. He cites other references which suggest that Lavaṇotsa was situated near one of the high roads leading to Srinagar from abroad. This area is nowhere near the Punjab Salt Range. Pṛthvīhara, whom Mazumdar refers to, is a Ḍāmara of Śamālā—one of those districts *(viṣayas)*[2] of the old Kramarājya which lies to the north of the river and the Volur lake and Śamālā is very frequently mentioned in the last two books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, particularly on account of its territorial chiefs or Ḍāmaras, who played a prominent part in all the civil wars of the later reigns. This area too has nothing to do with the Punjab Salt Range.

In Wilson's Glossary of Indian terms,[3] the word 'Lavana' is stated to mean 'Reaping', and from that in Hindi the term *Lavani* or *Launi*, as wages in kind to reapers at harvest time; also reaping, cultivating. Monier Williams[4] takes 'Lavana' from the root *Lu*, to cut or reap, as meaning one who reaps and Lavanya as the name of a particular tribe in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The name Lavanya may signify the original reaping or agricultural profession of the Lavanyas or Ḍāmaras.

In Kashmir even at present we find that the *pandits* are broken up into numerous *gotras*, and each *gotra* has many Krāms, or tribal sub-divisions. The Krām name is often the relic of a nickname applied to the ancestor of the sub-division.[5] As suggested by Stein, "the Lavanyas must have formed an important tribal section of the rural population of Kashmir and their name, like that of the Tantrins, survives in a modern 'Krām' name of frequent occurrence, viz. Lūn[1].[6] He further adds that though the passages referring to them tell us nothing about their origin, they show that many of them must

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, I.329, note; *Rājat.*, VII.762ff.

[2] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. II, p. 484.

[3] Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, p. 310.

[4] Williams, M., *op. cit.*, p. 898, obviously follows Stein.

[5] Cf. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 304.

[6] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.1171, note.

have held a position of influence as landowners or tribal headmen.[1] Their tribal name thus seems to have originated from their being landowners. Lons are found throughout the Valley and according to villagers' statements recorded by Lawrence they are said to have come from Cilas. Only one Krām, the Lon, is generally assigned a Vaiśya origin.[2] Stein, however, could not trace any such tradition and suggested that the mass of Ḍāmaras was recruited from the Lavanya tribal section and therefore the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations became common.[3] Following Stein, Vogel also takes the Lavanyas as a class of agriculturists. Thus he says : "the feudal barons in Kashmir, corresponding to the Ranas and Thakurs in other parts of the hills, bore the title of Ḍāmara, and they belonged chiefly to a class called Lavanya, who were agriculturists, and may therefore have held much the same social rank as Thakurs, Rathis and similar agriculturist castes elsewhere in the hills."[4]

We have already noted that the name *Lavanya* came to be used for the first time during the reign of King Harṣa and these people figure prominently in the reigns of succeeding kings. If the mass of the Ḍāmaras had been recruited from this tribal section, it would not have been mentioned so late. On the other hand, we believe that the Lavanyas must have formed a tribal sub-section and being an influential section of the agricultural population must have been classed with the Ḍāmara tribe, and hence the indiscriminate use of the epithets Lavanyas and Ḍāmaras for the same people. Moreover, if we believe with Stein that Lavanya was a tribal name, we are compelled to believe even more strongly that Ḍāmara started as a tribal rather than as a class name. For, if the name Lavanya, originally tribal, could be applied indiscriminately to the Ḍāmaras, Ḍamara might equally well be taken originally as a tribal name, later assigned to all those who acquired a certain position by means of agricultural revenue and trade. Moreover, it is clear

[1] Stein, *Rājat.*, vol. I, VII.1171, note.
[2] Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 306.
[3] *Supra*, p. 333.
[4] Hutchison-Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

that the Ḍāmaras did not hold the lands as gifts or fiefs but they had acquired them by their strength or held them as hereditary possessions without involving the right of resumption on the part of the state. Kalhaṇa's reference to Jayyaka, the clever son of a householder of Selyapur becoming a Ḍāmara by means of accumulating the wealth derived from his lands and trade with distant lands,[1] makes it quite clear that one could "become a Ḍāmara without any contact or contract with the king."[2]

Thus from the above references to tribal names we can safely assume that the word Ḍāmara started as the name of a people and from the special characteristics of this people it was later applied to all those who attained a certain position in society. In other words, beginning as a tribal name it was later used as a class name, as is shown by the fact that Lavaṇyas are sometimes termed Ḍāmaras. Moreover in Kashmir today we have Lons (Lavanyas) and Ḍars (Ḍāmaras) as two separate castes.

[1] *Rājat.*, VII.494.

[2] Sircar, D. C., *Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 37.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

(1) KASHMIRIAN SOURCES

Abhinavagupta : *Paramārthasāra*, ed. and tr. L. D. Barnett, (pp. 707-47), JRAS, 1910.

— *Tantrāloka*, vol. I, ed. Pandit Mukund Ram Shastri, KSTS 23, Bombay, 1918.

— *Tantrāloka*, vol. VI, ed. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, KSTS 54, Allahabad, 1921.

— *Tantrāloka*, vol. XII, KSTS 58, Bombay, 1938.

Bilhaṇa : *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, ed. G. Bühler, BSS, Bombay, 1875; tr. cantos xiv-xviii as vol. III by Pt. Vishwanath Shastri Bharadwaj, Banaras, 1964.

Dāmodaragupta : *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, ed. Pt. Durga Prasad, KM 3, Bombay, 1887; tr. J. J. Meyer (Ins. Deutche Übertragen), Chicago, 1903; tr. (Hindi), Atridev Vidyalankar, Varanasi, 1961.

Jonarāja : *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. P. Peterson, Bombay, 1896; Eng. tr. J. C. Dutt as "Kings of Kashmir" or "Rājataraṅgiṇīs of Jonarāja, Śrīvara, Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śuka, Calcutta, 1898.

— *Rājataraṅgiṇī of Jonarāja* tr. Dr. Raghunath Singh, Varanasi, 1972.

Jayaratha : *Viveka* or commentary on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*.

Kalhaṇa : *Ardhanārīśvara Stotram*, KM 14, Bombay, 1906.

— *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. Durga Prasad, Bombay, 1892: tr. (Eng.) J. C. Dutt, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1879-87; ed. and tr. (Hindi) Pandey Ramtej Shastri, Kashi, 1960; tr. (Eng.) R.S. Pandit, Allahabad, 1935; ed. M.A. Stein, Bombay, 1892, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1960; tr. (Eng.) M.A. Stein, 2 vols., London, 1900, (rpt.) Delhi, 1961.

— *Histoire des Rois du Kachmir*, vols. I-III, tr. (French) M. A. Troyer, Paris, 1840-52.

Kṣemarāja : *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, ed. J. C. Chatterji, KSTS 1, 1911.

Kṣemendra : *Aucityavicāracarcā*, KM 1, (pp. 115-75), Bombay, 1886, HSS 25, Benaras, 1933.

— *Baudhāvadānakalpalatā* or *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, ed. Sarat Chandra Das and Pt. H. M. Vidyabhushan, Bib. Ind. vol. I, Calcutta, 1888.

— *Cārucaryāśataka*, ed. Pt. Durga Prasad and K. P. Parab, KM 2 (pp. 128-38), Bombay, 1886.

— *Caturvargasaṁgraha*, ed. Pt. Durga Prasad and K.P. Parab, KM 5 (pp. 75ff.), Bombay, 1888.

— *Darpadalana*, ed. Pt. Durga Prasad and K. P. Parab, KM 6, Bombay, 1890; tr. (German), R. Schmidt, vol. 69, of ZDMG (pp. 1-52), 1915.

— *Daśāvatāracaritam*, ed. Pt. Durga Prasad and K. P. Parab, KM 26, Bombay, 1891.

— *Deśopadeśa*, ed. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul Shastri, KSTS, Poona, 1923.

— *Kalāvilāsa*, ed. Pt. Durga Prasad and K. P. Parab, KM 1 (pp. 34-79), Bombay, 1886.

— *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, KM 4 (pp. 122-39), Bombay, 1887; HSS 24, Benaras, 1933.

— *Laghukāvyasaṁgraha* (Minor works of Kṣemendra), ed. Aryendra Sharma, Sanskrit Academy Series No. 7, Hyderabad, 1961.

— *Lokaprakāśa*, ed. Pt. Jagaddhar Zadoo Shastri, KSTS 75, Srinagar, 1947; tr. (French) J. Bloch (*Le Lokaprakāça*), Paris, 1914; tr. (German) Weber (Indische Studien XVIII (pp. 307ff.).

— *Narmamālā*, ed. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul Shastri, KSTS, Poona, 1923.

— *Nītikalpataru*, ed. V. P. Mahajan, BORI No. 1, Poona, 1956.

— *Samayamātṛkā*, eds, Pt. Durga Prasad and K. P. Parab, KM 10 (2nd ed.), Bombay 1925; tr. Johann Jacob Meyer as (Das Zauberbuch der Hetären), Chicago, 1903.

— *Sevyasevakopadeśa*, eds. Durga Prasad and K. P. Parab, KM2 (pp. 79-85), Bombay, 1886.
— *Suvṛttatilaka*, K M 2 (pp. 29-54), Bombay, 1886, HSS 26 Banaras, 1933.
Mālinīvijayottara Tantram, ed. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, KSTS 37, Bombay, 1922.
Maṅkha : *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (with the comm. of Jonarāja), eds. Pt. Durga Prasad and K.P. Parab, KM 3, Bombay, 1900.
Nīlamatapurāṇa, ed. K. De Vreese, Leiden, 1936; eds. Kanjilal and Pt. Jagaddhar Zadoo, Srinagar, 1928.
Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śuka : *Caturthī Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. P. Peterson, Bombay, 1896.
Ratnākara : *Haravijaya*, eds. Pt. Durga Prasad and K. P. Parab, KM 22, Bombay, 1890.
Śivaswāmin: *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, ed. Gauri Shankar, Lahore, 1937.
Somadeva : *Ocean of Streams of Stories*, ed. with notes by N. M. Penzer, being C. H. Tawney's Eng.; tr. of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 10 vols., London 1924-28, ed. Durga Prasad and K. P. Parab, Bombay 1930.
Somānanda : *Parātriṁśikā* (with comm. by Abhinavagupta), ed. Pt. Mukundram Shastri, KSTS 18, Bombay, 1918.
— *Śivadṛṣṭi* (with the *vṛtti* by Utpaladeva), ed. Madhusudan Kaul, Shastri, KSTS., vol. 54, 1934.
Śrīvara : *Jaina Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Calcutta, 1835; *Tṛtīya Rājataraṅgiṇi*, ed. P. Peterson, Bombay, 1896.

(2) BACKGROUND INDIAN SOURCES

Abhijñānaśākuntalam of Kālidāsa, ed. Monier Williams, Delhi 1961.
Ādi Grantha, tr. Ernest Trumpp, London, 1877.
Agnipurāṇam, a prose English tr. by Manmath Nath Dutt, 2 vols., Varanasi, 1967.
Amarakośa ed. R. Shastri, Benaras, 1937.
Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, ed. G. Bühler, SBE, vol. II, part 1, Delhi, 1965.
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 2 vols., Gita Press, VS. 2018.
Bṛhaspati Smṛti, tr. J. Jolly, SBE, vol. 33, Oxford, 1889.

Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira, ed. H. Kern, Calcutta, 1865; tr. N. Chidambaram Iyer, Madurai, 1884.

Cūḷavaṁśa, tr. (Eng.) W. Geiger, part II, London, 1930.

Gautamasmṛti, tr. G. Bühler, SBE, vol II, part 1, Delhi, 1965.

Harṣacarita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, ed. R. P. Parab, Bombay, 1920; tr. (Eng.) E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, London, 1897.

Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, tr. Vishnu Shastri Vapat, 1911.

Kādambarī of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, tr. C. M. Ridding, London, 1896.

Kāmandakīyanītisāra, ed. J. P. Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1875; *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka, tr. (Eng.) M. N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1896; ed. T. Ganapati Shastri, Trivandrum, 1912.

Kātyāyanasmṛti, ed. P. V. Kane, Poona, 1933.

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, R. Shamasastri, Mysore, 1924.

Mahābhāṣya of Pāṇini, ed. and tr. Vachaspati Gairola, Varanasi, 1962.

Mahābhārata, ed. P. C. Roy, Calcutta, Śaka 1810; tr. P. C. Roy 12 Vols., Calcutta, 1889, tr. M. N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1897.

Manusmṛti with Medhātithi's comm., ed. and tr. G. Jha, Calcutta, 1924, 1939; with Kullūkabhaṭṭa's comm., 2 vols., Calcutta, 1930; tr. (*The Laws of Manu*), G. Bühler, SBE, vol. 25, Oxford, 1886, rpt. Delhi, 1964.

Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, tr. (Eng.) F. E. Pargiter, Calcutta, 1904.

Matsyapurāṇa, tr. by Taluqdar of Oudh, Sacred Books of the Aryans, vol. I, ed. Jamna Das Akhtar, Delhi, 1972; tr. (Hindi) Rampratap Tripathi Shastri, Prayag, VS. 2003.

Nāradasmṛti, ed. J. Jolly, Calcutta, 1885; tr. J. Jolly, SBE, vol. 33, Oxford, 1889.

Nītivākyāmṛta of Somadeva Sūri, Bombay, VS. 1989.

Padmapurāṇa, Kāśī Sanskit Series 98, Benaras, 1932.

Raghuvaṁśa Mahākāvyam of Kālidāsa, ed. Hargovind Shastri, Benaras, 1953.

Śabdakalpadruma, vol. III, Delhi, 1961.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, tr. J. Eggeling, SBE, Delhi, 1963.

Śukranītisāra, ed. Gustav Oppert, Madras, 1882; *The Śukranīti*, tr. B. K. Sarkar, SBH, vol. 13, parts I and II, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1975.

Vālmīkīya Rāmāyaṇa, vol. II, Gorakhpur, VS. 2017.

Vasiṣṭha Smṛti (*The Sacred Laws of the Aryas*), tr. G. Bühler, SBE, vol. 14, Oxford, 1882.

Viṣṇupurāṇa, 3rd. ed., Gorakhpur, VS 2009.

Viṣṇu Smṛti (The Institutes of Vishnu), J. Jolly, SBE vol. 7, Oxford 1900, Delhi (rpt.), 1965.

Vyavahāracintāmaṇi of Vācaspati Miśra, ed. and tr. L. Rocher, Gent, 1956.

Vyavahāramayūkha of Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha, tr. J. R. Gharpure, Bombay, 1924.

Yājñavalkya Smṛti, ed. W. Laxman Shastri Panshikar, Bombay, 1926; with Aparārka's comm., ed. H. N. Apte, Poona, 1904.

(3) MOHAMMADAN SOURCES

Allami, Abu-l-Fazl, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, tr. vol. I, Blochman, Calcutta, 1873; vol. II, H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1891; vol. III, H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1894.

Al-Berūnī's India, Eng. tr. Edward C. Sachau, 2 vols., London, 1910.

Al-Utbi, *Kitābul-Yamīnī* or *Tā'rīkh-i-Yaminī*, tr. James Reynolds London, 1869.

Āzam Muhammad, *Ta'rikh-i-Wāquiat-i- Kashmīr*, MS No. 513, C.R.O.L.

Haider, Malik, *Ta'rīkh-i-i-Kashmīr*, MS. No. E 510, C.R.O.L.

Haider, Mirza Muhammad Dughlat, *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, tr. N. Elias & Denison Ross 1895. (New impression, 1972).

History of India as told by its own Historians, tr., Elliot and Dowson, vols. I - VIII, London, 1867-77.

Tabquat-i-Akbarī, tr. B. De, London, 1858.

Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta, tr. John Briggs, vol. I, London, 1829; rpt. Calcutta, 1908, 1966.

(4) MODERN WORKS

Aiyanger, K.V.R., *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1935.

Altekar, A.S., *State and Government in Ancient India*, Benaras, 1949.

Altekar, A. S., *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, 2nd revised ed., Benaras, 1956, 3rd ed., Delhi, 1962.

Ashraf, K.M., *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, 2nd ed., New Delhi, 1970.

Bagchi, P. C., *India and China*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1944.

Bamzai, P. N. K., *A History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1962, 1973.

Banerji, R. D., *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Benaras, 1933.

Banerji, S. C., *Cultural Heritage of Kashmir*, Calcutta, 1965.

Barnett, L. D., *Antiquities of India*, Calcutta, 1964.

Barth, A., *The Religions of India*, authorised Eng. tr. by J. Wood, 5th ed., London, 1921, Indian ed., Varanasi, 1963.

Basham, A. L., *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, London, 1951.

— *Kalhaṇa and his Chronicle*, unpublished paper, 1956.

— *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Calcutta, 1964.

— *The Succession of the Line of Kaniṣka*, BSOAS, 1957.

— *The Wonder That Was India*, London, 1954, 3rd ed. 1961.

Beal, S., *Si-yu-ki* (Buddhist Records of The Western World), 2 vols., London 1884, Calcutta 1958 (in 4 vols.), references are from the old. ed.

— *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, London, 1914.

Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, Allahabad, 1928.

— *Theory of Government in Ancient India*, Allahabad, 1927.

Bernier, F., *Travels in The Mogul Empire*, London, 1916.

Bhandarkar, D. R., *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, Calcutta, 1929.

Bhandarkar, R. G., *Early History of The Deccan*, Calcutta, 1957.

— *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Religious Systems*, Strassburg, 1913, Varanasi, 1965.

— *Report in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Bombay, 1897.

Bhattacharyya, H., *The Cultural Heritage of India*, vols. I-IV, 1953-62, Calcutta.

Bhuyan, (R. B.) S. K., *Assam Buranji*, Calcutta, London, 1945.

Bose, Phanindranath, *The Indian Teachers in China*, Madras, 1923.

Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture*, (Buddhist and Hindu Periods), Bombay, 1956.

Bühler, G., *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (extra number of the J. B. Br. of the Royal Asiatic Society), Bombay, 1877.

Catlin, G., *A History of Political Philosophers*, London, 1950.

Chakravarty, P. C., *The Art of War in Ancient India*, Dacca, 1941.

Chakraborty, C., *A Study of Hindu Social Polity*, Calcutta, 1923.

Chakladar, H. C., *Social Life in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1954.

Chandra Prabha, *Historical Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit*, Delhi, 1976

Chatterji, J. C., *Kashmir Shaivaism*, vol. II, Srinagar, 1914.

Clapham, J. H. and Eileen Power, *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1941.

Colebrooke, H. T., *On Hindu Courts of Justice* (In Misc. Essays), New ed., E. B., Cowell, vol. I, London, 1873.

Cole, H. H., *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, London, 1869.

Coomarasvami, A. K., *Sati*, London, 1913.

Coulborn, R., *Feudalism in History*, Princeton University Press, 1956.

Crooke, W., *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, ed. R. E. Enthoven, Oxford, 1925.

— *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, vol. I, Oxford, 1920.

Cunningham, A., *Coins of Medieval India*, London, 1894.

Das, Mati Lal, *Hindu Law of Bailment.*

Das, S. K., *Economic History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1925.

— *Educational System of the Ancient Hindus*, Calcutta, 1930.

— *Śakti or Divine Power*, Calcutta, 1934.

Das, S. C., *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, ed. N. C. Das, Calcutta, 1893.

Das Gupta, S. N., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Classical Period, vol. I, Calcutta, 1947.

— *History of Indian Philosophy*, vols. I-IV, Cambridge, 1932-49.

Date, G. T., *The Art of War in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1929.

Dutta, N. and Sastry, S. N., *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Srinagar, 1942.

Datta, B. N., *Studies in Indian Social Polity*, Calcutta, 1944.

— *Hindu Law of Inheritance*, Calcutta, 1957.
Davies, Godfrey, *The Early Stuarts* (1603-1660), Oxford, 1949.
Dhar, S. N., *Kalhaṇa, Poet Historian of Kashmir*, Banglore, 1956.
Dikshitar, V. R. Ramachandra, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, Madras, 1929.
— *Art of War in Ancient India*, London, 1948.
Dobb, Maurice, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, London, 1947.
Dowson, J., *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, Religion, Geography, History and Literature*, London, 1950.
Drew, F., *A Geographical Account of Jummoo & Kashmir Territories*, London, 1875.
Eliot, C. (Sir), *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vols. I-III, London, 1921, (rpt.) 1962.
Egerton of Tatton, *Indian and Oriental Armour*, London, 1896.
Fergusson, James, *Tree And Serpent Worship*, 2nd ed., London, 1873.
Fick, R., *The Social Conditions of North-East India in Buddha's Time*, tr. S. K. Mitra, Calcutta, 1920.
Fleet, J. F. (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III (Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings), London, 1888, Varanasi, 1963.
Foucher, A, *Mémoires Concernant L' Asie Orientale*, tome primer, 1913.
Ganshoff, F. L., *Feudalism*, tr. Philip Grierson, London, 1952.
Gardner, Charles, S., *Chinese Traditional Historiography*, Cambridge, 1938.
Gauda, Manohar Lal, *Ācārya Kṣemendra*, Aligarh, 1955.
Ghosh, N. N., *Early History of India*, Allahabad, 1960.
Ghoshal, U. N., *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1930.
— *The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and other Essays*, Calcutta, 1944.
— *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, Calcutta, 1929.
— *Hindu Political Theories*, Madras, 1927.
— *History of Hindu Public Life*, Calcutta, 1945.
— *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, 1957.

Gibbs, M., *Feudal Order*, London, 1949.

Giles, J. A. (ed.), *The British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, London, 1842.

Goetz, H., *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, Leiden, 1955.

Gopal, Lallanji, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, Varanasi, 1965.

Grierson, G. A., *Linguistic Survey of India*, vols. VIII, IX, part IV., Calcutta, 1916, 1919, rpt., Delhi 1968,

Habib, M., *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznīn*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1951.

Haig, Sir W. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, Cambridge, 1928.

Hallam, *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, London, 1818.

Harcourt, A. F. P., *The Himalayan Districts of Kooloo, Lahol and Spiti*, London, 1871.

Hasan, Ibn, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Oxford, 1936.

Hastings, J. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vols. 1-13, Edinburg, 1908-1926.

Hayley, F. A., *Sinhalese Laws and Customs*, Colombo, 1923.

Hopkins, E. W., *The Religions of India*, London, 1895.

Hutton, J. H., *Caste in India*, 3rd ed., 1961.

Hultzsch, E., *South Indian Inscriptions*, 3 vols., Madras, 1890-1929.

Ibbetson, *Castes and Tribes of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1916.

Jaiswal, Suvira, *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism*, Delhi, 1967.

Jayaswal, K. P., *Hindu Polity*, (2nd ed.), Bangalore, 1943.

Jolly, J., *Recht und Sitte*, tr. by B. K. Ghosh as *Hindu Law and Customs*, Calcutta, 1928.

Joshi, L. D., *The Khasa Family Law*, Allahabad, 1929.

Kak, R. C., *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London, 1933, New Delhi, 1971.

— *Antiquities of Basohli and Ramnagar* (J & K State), New Delhi, 1972.

— *Antiquities of Bhimbar and Rajauri*, MAS 14.

Kak, R. C., *Antiquities of Marev and Wadwan*, MASK 1.

— *Handbook of the Archeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*, Calcutta, Simla, 1923.

Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, 4 vols, Poona, 1930-53.

Kapur, M. L., *Eminent Rulers of Ancient Kashmir*, Delhi 1975.

— *Studies in History & Culture of Kashmir, Jammu, 1976.*

Kaul, G. L., *Kashmir Through the Ages*, Srinagar, 7th ed., 1963.

— *Kashmir Then and Now*, Srinagar, 1972.

Keith, A. B., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, 1961.

Kosambi, D. D., *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1956.

— *Origins of Feudalism in Kashmir* (Sārdhaśatābdi Commemorative Volume), 1804-1954, pp 108-120, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1956-57.

Laing, Samuel (tr.), *Heimskringla* or *The Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vols. I-III, London, 1844.

Lassen, C., *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vols. I-IV, Leipzig, 1858-74.

Latif, S. M., *History of the Punjab*, Calcutta, 1891, New Delhi, 1964.

Law, B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954.

Lawrence, Walter, *The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1895, Srinagar, 1967.

Liversedge, *Land Tenures in the Colonies*, Cambridge, 1945.

Lyall, A. C., *The Rajput States of India, Asiatic Studies*, pp 203-68, 2nd ed., London, 1907.

Leitner, G. W., *Languages and Races of Dardistan*, Lahore, 1877.

Macdonell, A. A., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1928.

Macdonell, A. A. and Keith, A. B., *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vols. I-II, London, 1912, rpt., Varanasi, 1958.

Mahalingam, T. V., *South Indian Polity*, Madras, 1955.

Majumdar, A. K., *Rājatarangiṇīs as the Sources of the History of Kashmir*, B.V. Bh. vol. XVI, 1956, Bombay.

Majumdar, B. K., *The Military System in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1955, 2nd ed., 1960.

Majumdar, R.C., *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1922.
— *Ancient India*, Delhi, 1960.
Majumdar, R. C. and A. D. Pusalker (eds.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vols. II-VI, Bombay (Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan), 1951-1960.
Majumdar, S. N. (ed.), *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924.
Makhdoomi, M. A., *Central Government of the Sultans of Delhi.*
Martin, Mary. ER, *Women in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1964.
Mazumdar, B. P., *The Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, (1030-1194), Calcutta, 1960.
Meek, C. K., *Land, Laws and Customs in the Colonies*, Oxford, 1949.
Mehta, Ratilal N., *Pre-Buddhist India*, Bombay, 1939.
Minakshi, C., *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, Madras, 1938.
Mitra, R. C., *Decline of Buddhism in India*, Calcutta, 1954.
Molony, *History of Kashmir*, Christian Literary Society for India, 1921.
Mookerji, R. K., *Ancient India*, Allahabad, 1960.
— *Local Government in Ancient India*, Oxford, 1920.
Moorcroft, W. & George Trebeck, *Travels in Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir etc.* (1819-1825), 2 vols., London, 1841, New Delhi 1971.
Morris, W. and Magnusson, Eirikr., *The Heimskringla of Snorri Sturluson* (The stories of kings of Norway), vols. I-IV., London, 1895.
Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., *The Colas*, Madras, 1935-37.
— *Foreign Notices of Southern India*, Madras, 1939.
Nazim, M., *The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge, 1931, 2nd. ed. New Delhi, 1971.
Niyogi, P., *The Economic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1962.
Om Prakash, *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1961.
Otto Böhtlingk und R. Roth, *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, vols. I-VII, St. Petersburg, 1855-75.

Oppert. Gustav, *Weapons, Army Organisation and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, London, 1880.

Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta : An Historical and Philosophical Study*, Benaras, 1936, 2nd ed., Varanasi, 1963.

Pandit, M. P., *Studies in the Tantras and the Veda*, Madras, 1964.

Papers on Indian States Development, East And West Ltd., London, 1931.

Patavardhan, C. N., *History of Education in Mediaeval India*,

Petech, L., *Northern India according to the Shui-Ching-Chu*, Roma, 1950.

Pillay, Swamikannu, L. D., *Indian Chronology*, Madras, 1911.

Pokrovsky, *Brief History of Russia*, tr. D. S. Mirsky, 2 vols., London, 1933.

Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol. I.

Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultans of Delhi*, Lahore, 1944.

Raverty, H. G., *Notes on Afghanistan*, London, 1888.

Ray, H. C., *Dynastic History of Northern India*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1931.

Raychaudhuri, H. C., *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, Calcutta, 1920.

— *Political History of Ancient India*, 3rd ed., Calcutta, 1932.

Ray, S. C., *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, Calcutta, 1957, 2nd revised ed. New Delhi, 1970.

Risley, H., *The People of India* (2nd ed. W. Crooke), London, 1915.

Roscoe, John, *The Buganda, Their Customs and Beliefs*, London, 1911.

Sahni, D. R. (Rai Sahib), *Pre-Mohammedan Monuments of Kashmir*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, 1915-16, Calcutta, 1918.

Saletore, B. A., *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar*, vol. II (1346-1646), Madras.

Saran, P., *Studies in Mediaeval Indian History*, Delhi, 1952.

Sarkar, J., *Studies in Mughal Empire*, Calcutta.

Saxena, K. S., *Political History of Kashmir*, Lucknow, 1974,

Sewell, R., *Vijayanagara, A Forgotten Empire*, (2nd ed.), London, 1924.

Shama Shastri, R., *Evolution of Indian Polity*, Calcutta, 1920.
Sharma, S. R., *Mughal Government and Administration*, Bombay, 1951.
Sharma, R. S., *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1959.
— *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta, 1965.
— *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, Bombay, 1966.
Sircar, D. C., *Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient & Mediaeval India*, Lucknow, 1969.
— *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1966.
— *Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1974.
— *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1971.
Sills, David, L. (ed.), *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, vol. V. 1968.
Smith, V. A., *Early History of India*, 4th ed., Oxford, 1924.
Spellman, J. W., *Political Theory of Ancient India*, Oxford, 1964.
Speyer, J. S., *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, Leiden.
Sprott, W. J. H., *Sociology*, No. 34, Hutchison University Library Series.
Stevenson, J., *The Church Historians of England*, vols. I-VI, Seeleys, 1853-58.
Sufi, G. D. M., *Kashīr*, 2 vols., Lahore, 1949.
Suryakanta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, Poona, 1954.
Temple, R. C., *The Word of Lallā, the Prophetess*, Cambridge, 1924.
Tripathi, R. S., *History of Kanauj*, Delhi, 1959.
Trumpp, E., *The Ādi Granth*, London, 1877.
Vaidya, C. V., *History of Medieval Hindu India*, 3 vols., Poona, 1921, 1924, 1926.
Valavalkar, P. H., *Hindu Social Institutions*, Madras, 1939,
Vardachariar, S., *Hindu Judicial System*, Lucknow, 1946.
Ved Kumari, Dr., *The Nīlamatapurāṇa*, vol. I, A Cultural & Literary Study, Srinagar-Jammu, 1968.
Vigne, G. T., *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo*, vols. I-II, London, 1842.
Virji, K. J., *The Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, Bombay, 1955.

Vogel, J. Ph., *Antiquities of Chamba State*, part 1, Archaeological Survey of India, N. S. vol. XXXVI, Calcutta, 1911.

— *The Indian Serpent Lore*, London, 1926.

Vogel, J. Ph. & Hutchison, J., *History of the Panjab Hill States*, 2 vols., Lahore, 1933.

Watt, G. (Sir), *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, 6 vols., 1891.

Watters, T., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, tr. 2 vols., London, 1905, 2 vols in one, Ist Indian ed., Delhi, 1961.

Weber, A., *Festgabe. Gurupūjākaumudī*, Leipzig, 1896.

Wilson, H. H., *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, London, 1855.

— *Essay on the Hindu History of Kashmir*, Asiatic. Researches, vol. XV., Serampur, 1825, Calcutta, 1960.

Williams, M., *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 4th ed., London, 1891.

— *Buddhism*, Varanasi, 1964.

— *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1951.

Winternitz, M., *History of Indian Literature*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1927-33.

Woodroffe, Sir, J., (Arthur Avalon) *Introduction to Tantra Śāstra*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1952; 4th ed., Madras, 1963.

— *Tantrarāja Tantra*, Madras, 1954, 2nd ed. 1964.

— *The Great Liberation* (*Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*), Madras, 1921.

— *The Serpent Power* (*Kuṇḍalini Śakti*), 7th ed., 1964.

— *Śakti and Śākta*, 4th ed., Madras, 1951.

Wright, D., *History of Nepal*, Cambridge, 1877, Calcutta, 1958.

Younghusband, F., *Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1970.

Yule, Henry, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 2 vols. 3rd ed., London, 1903.

CENSUS REPORTS

Census of India, Lahore, 1891, vol. XXVIII, *(Kashmir)*, 1893 by Rai Bahadur Pt. Bhag Ram.

Census of India, 1911, vol. XX, Kashmir (Report), Lucknow, 1912.

Census of India, 1921, vol. XXII, Kashmir, (Part I, Report), Lahore by Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Khushi Mohammad.

Census of India, 1931, vol. XXIV. J. & K. State (Part I, Report), Jammu, 1933 by Rai Bahadur Pt. Anant Ram & Pt. Hiranand Raina.

Census of India, 1941, vol. XXII, J. & K. Parts I - II, Jammu, 1943 by Capt. R. G. Wreford.

JOURNALS

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
Arts and Letters. India, Pakistan and Ceylon.
Asiatic Researches.
Asiatic Studies.
Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
Epigraphia Indica.
History—The Quarterly Journal of the Historical Association, N. Series, London.
Imperial Gazetteer of India.
Indian Antiquary.
Indian Antiquity.
Indian Culture.
Indian Historical Quarterly.
Indische Studien.
Islamic Culture.
Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Journal Asiatique.
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society.
Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Journal of the Department of Letters.
Journal of the Numismatic Society.
Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland,
Marg (Quarterly), A Magazine of the Art, Bombay.
Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
M'emoires Concernant l' Asie Orientale, tome premier, Paris, 1913.
Oriental Art.
Prāci-Jyoti-Digest of Indological Studies, Kurukshetra University.
Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
Punjab District Gazetteers (Jhelum District) 1904.
Quarterly Journal of the Mythical Society.
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

INDEX

Abbotabad 19
Abhaya (king of Uraśā) 42
Abhicāra 220 291
Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-72) 130 223 230 242 243
Abhimanyun II 27
Abhinanda (poet) 214 246
Abhinava (a Ḍāmara) 190
Abhinava (a divira) 202
Abhinavagupta 1 2 29 244 274 293 294 295 298 303 313 321 330
Abhīra 328
Abhisāra or Abhisāras 328 331
Abhisārada 331
Abhiśeka 176
Abhyantara (inner court) 60
Abul-Fazl 17 110 111 233 259 264
Abu-zaid 238
Acalamaṅgala 35
Accabal 149
Adharāṅśuka (lower garment) 256
Adhikaraṇa 153
Adhikaraṇadvijas 153 215
Adhikaraṇalekhaka (official recorder) 117 157 158
Adhikaraṇapatra 158
Ādi Grantha 232
Afghan, Afghans or Baloch 150 191
Afghanistan 122 250
Africa 172
Āgama 283 284
Āgamaśāstra 292
Āgneyāstra 136
Agnipurāṇa 113 119 133 140 221
Agrahāra 117 172 175 178 194 196 205 213 215 216 217 221 241 244 245 265 266 271 288 307
Agryamantrin 89
Ahoms 321
Ain-i-Akbarī 2 26 110 233 259 264
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 132
Ait gad (fish) 253
Akbar 2 12 259 322
Akhnoor 16
Akṣapaṭala (record office) 117 118 127
Akṣaraḥ 242 243
Akṣata 247
Akṣoṭamalla 99
Akṣoṭaphalam 255
Alakadatta 311 313
Alaṁkāra (Maṅkha's brother) 67 95 99 100 160 169 174 175 214 268 311
Alaṁkāra (a Ḍāmara of Karnah) 66
Al-berūnī or *Al-beruni's India* 12 14 15 19 22 26 33 34 119 120 133 162 228 238 240 243 252 261 263 320
Alexander 326
Alfred, Lyall 191
Aliabad Sarai 17
Al-Idrisī 14
Al-Quzwini 14
Altekar, A.S. 229 235
Alucha (bitter cherry) 254
Amaraka 246
Amarakaṇṭha 290
Amarakośa 125 147 154 240 242
Amar Das (Sikh Guru) 234
Amardaka 293
Amātya 87 88 176
Ambāputrikā 67
Amīra (as a title) 29
Amir-ul-Mumenin 29
Amitra 124

Amritsar 13
Ānanda (as pādāgra, as governor of Kramarājya) 92 108 139
Ānanda (son of Ananta) 189
Ānanda (ancestor of Somānanda) 294
Ānanda (maternal uncle of Uccala) 52 237
Ānandavardhana 246
Ananta or Anantadeva (A.D. 1028-63) 2 9 25 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 82 86 92 102 105 109 110 116 121 125 126 127 134 140 145 165 183 202 203 216 217 221 226 227 231 234 251 255 260 266 301 303 304 328
Ananta (father of Mahattama Ānanda) 189
Ananta (a Śeṣanāga) 264
Anantanāga or Anantnag 253 260 264
Āndhra 328
Aṅgas 245
Aṅgarakṣaka (upper garment) 256
Añjana 258
Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute 175
Antarvedi (a region between Ganga and Yamuna) 294
Antiquities of Chamba 117
Antyas, Antyajah or Antyajātis 222
Aṇu 294
Anuviśva 331
Apabhraṁśa 242
Aparāditya (Śilāhāra, lord of Koṅkaṇa) 67
Aparāditya (son of Jayasiṁha) 69
Āpastambha 165
Aparārka (on Yājñavalkya) 222
Apratiṣṭhitā 159
Āpta 153
Apūpa 248
Apūpikā 114 248
Ār (plum) 254
Arab 14
Arabia 254
Ardhanārīśvara 72 294 313
Ardhanārīśvara Stotra 313
Ārdraka 250
Arigon or Arigom 278 279
Arnasudhana 331
Artha 8 302
Arthanāyaka 109
Arthaśāstra 39 69 78 87 88 91 94 113 117 119 122 124 140 145 147 149 150 151 165 177 222 250 302
Aruṇāditya 293
Āryabhaṭṭa 246
Āryadeśa 214 241
Aryan 328
Asaf Khan 111
Āśāmatī 25 35 231
Āsaṭa (king of Campā) 37 39 42 44 331
Ashanti (in Africa) 172
Ashraf, K. M. 323
Asi 134
Asia 322
Asia Minor 255
Aśoka 177 272 277 279 288 309
Aśreyasa (Debit) 154
Assam 254 321 328
Aṣṭa-Mahā-Caitya-Vandana-Stotra 241
Aṣṭamahāsthāna Caitya - Vandana-Stava 277
Āsthāna 153
Āsthānabhaṭṭa 153 160 215
Āsthānabrāhmaṇa 160
Āsthānadivira 152
Āsthānadvija 160 215
Astor (region of the Indus Valley) 20 36 250
Astrapūjā 134
Aśvaghāsakāyastha 107 123
Aśvapati 103
Aśvaśālādivira 123
Atavibala 124
Atrigupta 294 321
Aṭṭapatibhāga 106 142

Atyagrapura (Agror) 67
Aucityavicāracarcā 6 8 246 247
Avadānas 281
Avadānaśataka 273
Avalokiteśvara 279
Avantipura 85 86 105 189
Avantivarman 17 79 83 90 222 241 242 273 274 289 292 293 309 325
Avatāras 303

Babba 43
Babbāpura (Babor) 22 43 44
Babur 326
Bāchbaṭṭas 216
Baddivāsa 97
Bagchi, P. C. 289 320 321
Bāhlīka (inhabitant of Balkh) 250 327
Bahramgala 17
Bāhyāli 160
Bāhyarājasthānādhikārbhāk 99 160
Bāhyarājasthānīya 311
Bāhyayāga 285
Baihāqui 29
Baijnath Praśastis 43
Baka 10 288 289 334
Bakopi 170
Bakungu 170 171
Balahara 331
Balakeśvara 267
Bali 145
Balkrishna 74
Ballawar (Vallāpura) 22 43
Balti 20
Bāṇa or Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa 122 246
Bāṇabhaṭṭa 214 230 232
Bāṇaliṅgas 266
Bāṇaśālā 16 64 329
Banerji, S. C. 4 214
Banihal Pass (Bāṇaśālā) 15 16 21 23 64 329
Bapat, P. V. 272
Bappata 41
Bappanīla 42
Bappikā 39
Baramula (Varāhamūla) 19 20 135 253 260
Barbal 18
Barnett, L. D. 71 295
Barrett, D. 85
Barth 287 290
Basham, A. L. 72 74 75 78 269 307
Bat (sub-caste) 198
Bataka 170 171 179
Batangole 170 171
Bates, Major 111
Beal, S. 14 119 222 240 254 255 264 272
Beas (river) 21 22 24 25
Bede 325
Bengal 2 251
Beni Prasad 4 9
Bernier 2 26
Bhadravah 22
Bhadrāvakāśa (modern Bhadravah) 22 44
Bhadreśa 92
Bhāga (king's customary share) 106 144 145
Bhāgavatas 328
Bhāgavata faith 244
Bhagavadgītārthasaṁgraha 298
Bhāgavata Purāṇa 328
Bhairava 289
Bhairavagala 17
Bhalla 331
Bhandarkar, R.G. 282 284 285 286 289 297 298
Bhāratamañjarī 6
Bhartṛharī 246
Bhartṛmenṭhā 246
Bhartula (Vartula) 36
Bhāravi (author) 246
Bhāsa 104
Bhaṭṭa 288
Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa 246
Bhaṭṭabhallaṭa (author) 246
Bhattacharya, H. 282 283 284 286 287 289 291 292

Bhaṭṭa Dāmodaragupta 246
Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa 293
Bhaṭṭamayūra (author) 246
Bhaṭṭamuktikalaśa (author) 246
Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa 246
Bhaṭṭapāda 290
Bhaṭṭa Prabhākara 246
Bhaṭṭa Śrīśivasvāmī (author) 246
Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭṭa 243
Bhaṭṭavācaspati (author) 246
Bhattendurāja 246
Bhaṭṭi (clan of Rajputs) 28
Bhaṭṭodayasiṁha (author) 246
Bhauṭṭa 20 21
Bhauṭṭarāṣṭra 23
Bhavabhūti 246
Bhavyarāja 277
Bheda 137
Bhikṣācara (the grandson of Harṣa) 16 23 26 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 69 83 97 125 129 130 131 133 138 180 184 186 187 188 189 216 218 315 316
Bhīmagupta 27
Bhīmakeśava 143
Bhīma Śāhi, also Bhīmapāla (of Udabhāṇḍa, modern Und) 27 30 33 84
Bhoja (Harṣa's son) 37 38 53 67 121 232
Bhoja (son of King Salhaṇa) 66 120 314 317
Bhojarāja (of Dhārā) 37 38
Bhṛtaka 124 129
Bhūdeva 212
Bhujaṅga (son of a Brahmin feudal chief) 176
Bhūkṣīravāṭikā (modern Buch'var) 213
Bhumia 182 183
Bhūpāla (son of Somapāla of Rājapurī) 67
Bhūpati (word used for adjoining princes) 177
Bhūrja 10 143
Bhūteśvara 249
Bhūti (a Vaiśya watchman) 92
Bhuṭṭa 267
Bhuṭṭaland 22
Bhuṭṭapura 267
Bhuṭṭeśvara 266
Bhuvanarāja 203
Bhuyan S. K. 321
Bighas (a land measure) 259
Bijja 204 227
Bijjalā 232
Bilhaṇa 1 10 36 46 214 240 241 244 245 255 259 311 312 322
Bimba (a Ḍāmara of Nīlāśva) 190
Bimba (Prime Minister of Bhikṣācara) 61 97
Bimba (dvāreśa during King Ananta's reign) 102
Bimba (step-brother of Kampaneśa Tilaka) 102
Bimbā 234
Biru Pargana 18
Bisa (lotus stalk) 249
Bloch, J. 174 248
Bodhisattvas 27 280 281
Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi 274
Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā 6 280 281
Bojar (feudal baron) 179 330
Bolyasaka 19 23
Brahmā 299
Brahmacārins 316
Brahmahatyā 159 162
Brahmapura (Brahmor) 43 331
Brahmarāja 35
Brāhmī 288
Brahmin (Brāhmaṇa) 8 9 27 28 140 150 153 158 159 160 162 163 165 172 174 175 178 196 197 198 205 207 208 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 224 225 226 229 233 235 238 240 241 244 245 248 249 251 252 255 256 265 266 267 271 280 290 301 303 316
Brahmin feudal chief 194

Brār 85
Bṛhadgañja 214 311
Bṛhaspati 155 156 157 159 161 162 165 227
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 6
Bṛhatsaṁhitā 86 283 331 332
Bṛhattantrapati (a judge) 215 311
Bṛhaṭṭika 187
Briggs, J. 29 30 31 134
Britain 326
British 193
British History 325 326
Brutus 326
Buddha 7 232 265 266 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 280 298 303
Buddha's mother 86
Buddhism 6 262 265 267 271 274 275 276 278 279 280 281 292
Buddhist 26 236 238 256 263 273 275 276 277 278 280 281 290 303 327
Buddhist Jātakas 119
Buganda 170 171 303
Bühlar, G. 3 8 9 68 98 99 113 114 118 214 262 263 293 311 313 314 327
Buliasa 19 23
Bulla (son of Dhammaṭa) 48
Bulnat 29
Bundelkhand 172
Buranjis 321
Burgundy Arles 209
Burn, R. 43

Caitya 265 272
Cakra (author) 246
Cakrabhānu 220
Cakradhara 79
Cakramelaka 220
Cakrapāla 246
Cakrapūjā 285
Cakravarman 74 117 128 163 175 180 181 213 222 224 334
Calagañja 124
Calcutta 2
Caledonian clans 182
Calliope 307
Cālukya 10
Cālukya King Tribhuvanamalla VI 46 214
Campā (Chamba) 1 22 24 25 36 37 38 39 43 44 58 125 201 331
Cāmuṇḍā 288
Caṇa (Cicer Arietinum) 248
Caṇḍaka 246
Caṇḍālas 30 177 211 212 221 222 223 227 242
Candana (sandlewood) 258
Candrabhāgā 267
Candradeva 8 263
Candraka 246
Candramukha 30 32 114
Candrāpīda 89 158 162 165 220 233
Candrarāja 52 53
Candrī (a nurse) 231
Caṅkuṇa 273 321
Caṅkuṇavihāra 267
Caṇpaka (Kalhaṇa's father) 44 53 95 101 121 130 206 294 306 312 313
Cāpa 134
Caraka (grazing land) 105
Caraka (author) 254
Cāravākas 14
Caritas 306 319
Cārucaryāśataka 6 8 236 247 255 320
Cashmir (sic) 265
Caṭaka 240
Cātaka (bird) 157
Catlin, George 74
Catuḥśālā 265
Caturvargasaṁgraha 6 8
Catuṣka (son of Gargacandra) 186
Central Asia 122 235
Chāga 251
Chala 158
Chambar (a village) 18
Chamba Vaṁśāvalī 36

Chāndogya Upaniṣad 132
Chandraprabha 10
Chandra Rai Of Sharwā 33
Charri gad (a kind of fish) 253
Chash gad (fish) 253
Chatterji, J. C. 72 291 292 293
Chavillākara (author) 308
Chenab 16 21 22 58 331
China 20 257 260 276 322
Chinese 12 260 264 272 278 310 320 321 322
Chinese Annals 310
Christians 157
Chuḍḍa 57 99
Chuḍḍā (wife of Garga) 188
Cilās 36 336
Cīna 331
Cīnāṅśuka 257
Cintā 268
Cīranivāsana 331
Citraratha 95 104 105 106 144 280
Cittapānī 18
Cīvara (monastic robes) 272
Clapham, J. H. 166
Clio 307
Colebrooke 2
Confucius 321
Coragali 18
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum 109 117
Corvee 221
Coṭi Gali 18
Coulborn, R. 167 168 169 185 192 209
Cowell, E. B. 122
Crocus 201
Crooke, W. 212 238 289
Cukhulaka 294
Cūlavaṁśa 330
Cunningham, A. 2 24 25 37 46 70 71 226 319 327

Dadhi 251
Dāḍima 254
Daiśika 266
Daityas 115
Ḍākinis 283
Dākṣīṇātya 46 259
Ḍāmara (modern Ḍar or Dar) 1 20 35 40 50 51 52 53 55 56 57 58 60–69 80 90 91 97 102 104 105 114 119 120 122 125 126 128 129 132 134 138 141 143 149 163 171 172 173 175 178–190 193–200 202 203 204 206 207 208 216 223 224 226 232 234 235 236 237 249 250 255 270 271 274 301 302 304 313 314 315 318 328 330–336
Ḍāmarakula 180
Dāmodara I 225
Dāmodara II (king) 212
Dāmodara (modern Damodar Udar to the south of Srinagar) 63
Dāmodaragupta (poet) 6 11 155 236 240 248 303
Dāna 137
Dānapaṭṭaka 117
Daṇḍa (open war) 137
Daṇḍanāyaka 49 136 137
Daradas 20 35 36 49 50 57 66 68 114 131 132 134 177 183 189 272 314 327 328 331
Daradadeśa 20 22 46 183
Daratpurī 20
Darbar 300
Darhal Pass 16
Darjeeling 328
Darpadalana 6 7 247
Dāruṇāmākaraḥ 148
Dārva 328 331
Darvābhisāra 36 267 331
Das, S. K. 295 296 297
Daśāvatāracarita 6 247 276 298
Daśāvatārastotra 275
Dasyus 185
Date, G. T. 120 123 135
Davies, Godfrey 75
De, B. 31
Deccan 10 241

Degrāma (Degāma hamlet) 204
Denmark 324
Deśopadeśa 6 7 236 237 238 248 251 253 256
Devamukha 114
Devasarasa (modern Devasor Distt.) 62 187
Devatā 285
Devī 285
Devīcakras 286 288
Devotpāṭananāyaka 143 269
Dhammaṭa (son of Tanvaṅga) 48
Dhanva (a Ḍāmara of Lahara) 249
Dhānya 247
Dharasena I 113
Dharma 8 138 302
Dharma and Adharma (ordeals) 162
Dharmādhikaraṇa 152 153
Dharmādhikaraṇadivira 152
Dharmakīrti 246 275
Dharmapāla 276
Dharmāsana 152
Dharmaśāstra 12 160 218 229 312
Dharmasthāna 152
Dharmayuddha 137
Dharmottara 277
Dhuryadhīsaciva (chief conncillor) 240
Diddā 27 32 81 84 92 95 184 203 215 218 226 230 231 233 242 266 274 304 334
Diddāvihāra 267 278
Digvijaya 177
Dīkṣā 270 285
Dikshitar 119
Dinnāras 65 127 148 154 156 157 158
Dīpaka 246
Dipi (Persian word for writing) 114
Divira (scribe) 8 27 84 104 108 113 114 115 116 196 202 224 236 237
Divya 159 161 163 165 289
Doda District 202
Dogra Rule 111
Ḍomba (elder son of Utkarṣa) 48
Ḍombas (Ḍūmbas) 26 175 212 222 223 224
Draṅga 15 17 18 19 148 236
Draṅgādhīśvara 101
Draṅgeśa 101
Dras gad (fish) 253
Drew, F. 16 43 197
Dugar 21
Dugdhaghāṭa (modern Dudhkut) 20 49 50 130 132 134 184
Dundubhis 134
Durgara 43 331
Durlabhaka Pratāpaditya II 78 239
Durlabhavardhana 225
Durvāsas 293 298
Dūtaka 98
Dutta 103
Dutta, B. N. 177
Dutta, J. C. 3 325
Dvādaśabhāga 105 110 145
Dvāra ('Gate' of the territory) 13 15 18 19 35 101
Dvārabidi 19
Dvārādhipa 100 104
Dvārādhikārin 100
Dvārakārya 101 102
Dvārapati 5 44 72 91 97 98 101 103 173 186 306
Dvāravati 19 20 22
Dvāreśa 100 101 102
Dvitīya (Lord of Uraśā) 67

Egerton 136
Eileen Power 166
Eisenstadt, S. N. 209
Ekacaraṇa 331
Ekādaśī 253
Ekāṅgas 35 126 127 128 129 175 176
Elias, N. 15
Eliot, C. 212 262 274 276
Elliot 14 29 134 135 136 238

England 54 150 155 158 172 173 209 302 324
Epics 8 136 246 247 264 302 312
Epic lore 138
Epigraphia Indica 115 117 175 238
Europe 26 166 167 168 178 190 191 223 254 322

Far East 275
Feudum 166
Firishta 29 30 31 133 134
Fleet, Dr. 118 320 331
Foucher 85
France 209
Frankish 209

Gad (Kashmiri word for fish) 153
Gagribal 146
Gāgrī Valley 18
Gāhaḍavāla 67 237
Gambhīrā (lowest part of the course of river Viśokā) 63
Gāmbhīrasiṁha (chief of Kāṇḍa) 42
Ganai (sub-caste) 198
Gaṇanādhipatisthāna 118
Gaṇanādhyakṣa (accountant) 158
Ganda 33 34
Gandha 235
Gandhāra (Kabul) 19 27 85 213 214
Gandharva 331
Gandharvas 10
Gaṇḍinaka 246
Gangadhar 283
Gaṅgaka 244 246
Ganges Doāb 29
Gaṇikā 236
Gañjādhipa 35
Gañjadivira 108 114
Grāmadivira 108
Gañjavara (treasurer) 108
Ganshoff, C. S. 209
Gardener 321
Gardīzī 29 30
Garga or Gargacandra (father of Pañcacandra, leading Ḍāmara of Lahara) 57 58 63 82 91 132 139 181 186 187, 188 189 190 233 313
Garhi 19
Garuḍa 264
Gauḍa, M. L. 5
Gauda (Bengal) 5 214 239 257 284
Gauḍakumbhākāra 246
Gauraka (a minister of King Sussala) 144
Gaurīśa (temple) 92
Gaurishankar 273
Gautama (early law-giver) 141
Gautama Smṛti 145 147 151
Geoffrey of Monmouth 325 326
George Watt 255
German 182
Germany 209 330
Ghaṭotkaca 67
Ghaznī 30 31 34
Ghoṣā (a name of people) 331
Ghosh, N. N. 68
Ghoshal, U. N. 4 73 145 147
Ghṛta (purified butter) 251
Gilas (a corruption of Cerasus or the cherry) 254
Giles, J. H. 325 326
Gilgit 13
Girasia (Ṭhakkur or lord who holds *giras* [grant]) 182
Goetz, H. 4 86 274 321
Gonanda I 326
Gonanda III 309
Gonanda dynasty 226 263 289
Gonds 191
Gopāditya 213
Gopādrī (modern Takht-i-Sulaiman hill) 126
Gopālavarman (A. D. 904-905) 84 142 230

Gotra 335
Govardhanadhara (image of Viṣṇu) 267
Govardhanadhara (modern Gurdan Udar) 265
Govindacandra (Gahaḍavāla king of Kānyakubja or Kanauj) 67
Grāmas 113
Grāmadivira 114
Grāmakāyastha 107 113 143 206
Grāmaśūkaras 252
Gṛhakṛtya (office) 92 104 106 107 109 110 142
Gṛhakṛtyādhipati (charge of the Gṛhakṛtya office or Home Affairs) 107 108 109 110 116
Grierson, G. A. 327 328 329
Guḍa (treacle) 249
Gulabgarh 173
Gulhaṇa (son of King Jayasiṁha born of queen Raḍḍādevī) 67 69 133
Gulmarg 19
Guṇalekhā (Jayasiṁha's queen) 70
Guṅga 203
Gupta period 98 120 150 177 284
Gurais 20
Guru (a spiritual preceptor) 6 243 249 270 285 289 290 291 298 303 316
Gūrun (a small fish) 253
Gustav, Oppert 135

Habib M. 29 30 31
Habibulla 19
Hāḍigrāma 279
Haider Malik 333
Haladhara (Prime Minister in Queen Sūryamatī's service) 40 92 97 105 221 227 232
Hālāha (Kashmir Distt.) 186
Halfdan, the Black 324
Hallam 182
Hamal 20
Hammīra 29 34
Haṁsī 222 223
Hang or Mui (apricots) 254
Hāra (necklace) 258
Haramukuṭa 20
Haravijaya 11
Hari Mohan Vidyabhushan 280
Harirāja 34
Harivaṁśa 298 327
Harj gad (fish) 253
Harmukh 20
Harṣa (author) 246
Harṣa, Harṣadeva (A.D. 1089–1101) 1 5 20 39 41 44–57 59 80 82 83 91 92 96 99 100 101 102 103 115 116 121 122 123 125 127 128 130 132 134–140 143 144 147 148 150 157 183 184 186 204 206 207 208 221 227 231 232 239 241 242 250 252 255–259 266–271 276 277 278 280 301 306 312 313 314 315 329 333 336
Harṣacarita 117 122 232 306
Harṣamitra (a Ḍāmara) 188
Harṣa or Harṣavardhana of Kanauj 22 122 175 277
Harwan 256 293
Hasan 146
Hastings 164
Hastivañj 17
Haṭhayoga 286
Hayāroha 121
Hayasenāpati (or Aśvasenāpati, cavalry commander) 122
Hazara (Distt.) 19 23
Heimskringla 323 324 325
Helārāja 308
Helen, Cam 166
Hemacandra 24
Hemakoś 24
Hemavālakavālikā (small gold finger ring) 257
Himalayas, Himalayan 28 201 202 253 328

Hindu 278 282 305 306 319 320 322 327
Hindukush 327
Hindustan 31
Hiṅgu (Asafoetida) 250
Hiraṇyapura (modern Ranyil) 52 137
Hiuen Tsang 12 14 18 19 21 23 24 222 240 254 264 272 273 320
Holdā 60 189 190
Horner 192
Hūṇa 310 320 328
Huṇḍī 114
Hu-Se-Kia-lo 19
Huṣkapura (modern Ushkar) 19 128 165
Hutchison & vogel 36 37 39 42 43 179 201 202

Iceland 324
Iliad 9
Imperial Gazetteers of India 29
Indracandra (Inducandra, prince of Jālandhara) 25 35
India 26
Indo–Aryan 26
Indian Antiquary 114
Indische Alterthumskunde 2
Indrabhānu 246
Indrāṇī 288
Indriyārtha 225
Indurāja (author) 246
Indus Valley 13 20 35 36 58
Indus 18 19 20 21 22 23 28 66 68
Iran 254
Irish Highlands 182
Īśāṇadevī 288
Iśāṇakoṇa 328
Islam 266 270
Islamabad (ancient Anantanāga) 44 253 260
Italy 209
Itihāsa 320
Iyer C. 86 331

Jagir 195 196
Jaipāla 29
Jaipāla II 29
Jālandhara or Jullundur (ancient Trigarta) 1 21 22 24 25 26 35
Jalauka 152 288
Jalla (the Saṁdhivigrahika of the ruler of Darvābhisāra) 267
James I (Stuart king of England) 46 54 73 75
Jammu 13 39 42 43 198 202
Jāndār 127
Janaka (minister of King Paramāṇuka) 71
Janakacandra 186
Janakasiṁha (a city Prefect) 60 94
Jan–Yun–Hua 276
Jaraja bhayyad 182
Jāsaṭa or Jāsaṭavarman 39
Jassarāja 203
Jātaka 280
Jaṭāsura 331
Java 251
Jayalakṣmī 230
Jayamalla (son of Harṣa's younger brother, Vijayamalla) 48
Jayamatī 226 232 233 237
Jayānanda (Prime Minister during King Kalaśa) 129 150
Jayanta Bhaṭṭa 214
Jayapāla (the son of Saṅjapāla c–in–c of Jayasiṁha) 95
Jayāpīḍa (Kārkoṭa king) 69 115 119 121 124 130 138 141 149 174 177 205 213 239 240 257 270
Jayarāja (younger half-brother of King Jayasiṁha) 46 48
Jayaratha 294 295 296 313 330
Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1028-49 and A.D. 1028-55) 1 2 16 26 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 78 80 83 91 93 94 95 97 98 99 101 104 105 106 120 122 125 130 132 133 137 139 144 147–50 160 164 189 190 212 216 255 267 278 279 280 300 301 304

305 307 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318
Jayendravihāra 266 274
Jayyaka (a Ḍāmara) 149 195 196
Jews 157
Jhelum river (Vitastā) 18 19 21 23 30 53 253 260 331
Jhelum Gazetteer 29
Jīmūtavāhana 281
Jina (Buddha) 280
Jindurāja (in-charge of the command of the army under King Kalaśa) 147 204 227
Jñānavyūha 284
Jolly, J. 99 152 156 164 227
Jonarāja 11 70 71 72 84 112 221 313 322 325
Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 112 325
Joshi, L. D. 328
Joshua Prawer 209
Jotish (astrologer class in Kashmir) 218 219
Jummoo 16
Justice Storey 155
Jvālāmukhicakra 288
Jyeṣṭhakalaśa 245
Jyeṣṭhapāla 26

Kabaka (the supreme monarch in Buganda) 170
Kabul 1 25 32 84 125 131 320 322
Kādambarī 230 234
Kādambarīkathāsāra 214
K'ai-Feng 276
Kājnāg peak 19
Kājnāg Range 20
Kak, R. C. 85 274
Kākodar spur 18
Kalama 247
Kalaśa (A. D. 1063-89) 22 37 39 40 41 43 44 45 46 47 48 50 57 78 82 83 90 93 97 99 102 105 121 129 140 143 147 149 150 154 161 183 202 203 204 216 217 226 228 231 232 241 255 260 266 268 269 270 271 276 290 300 301 328 329
Kalaśa (lord of Vallāpura or Balor or Ballawar) 42
Kalaśaka (author) 246
Kalaśarāja (Ṭhakkura of Rājapurī) 51
Kalaśeśvara 266
Kalāvatī 6 237
Kalāvilāsa 6 7 138 236 246 247
Kālavyūha 284
Kalha (king of Kaliñjara, a hill territory to the south of Kashmir) 51
Kalahaṇa (author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*) 1 2 4 5 7 9 10 11 14 16 17 19 20 21 22 24 28 29 30–34 36 39 42 43 44 46 47 53 54 56 58 59 67–70 72–78 80 81 87–90 92–96 99–108 111 112 115 116 120–125 128 130–140 142 143 144 145 149 150 152–155 159 165 169 173–181 185 189 190 195 200 202 203 205 206 208 211–214 216–227 230–237 239 240 241 243 244 247 248 250 251 252 254 255 256 259 260 263 265 267 269 270 271 275 276 278 279 280 288 290 292 294 301–304 306–323 325 326 329 332 333 334 335
Kalhaṇikā (the chief queen of Jayasiṁha) 66
Kali 115
Kāli (goddess) 253
Kālidāsa 246
Kaliṅga 123
Kāliñjara (a hill territory to the south of Kashmir) 33 51 208
Kaliyuga 55
Kalki 298
Kallaṭa 292 296
Kalyāṇa (Cālukya capital) 10 214
Kalyāṇa (identified with Kalhaṇa) 294 311 313
Kalyāṇacandra (son of Gargacandra 186

Kāma 8 302
Kāmadeva 243
Kamalavardhana 80 175
Kāmandaka 141
Kāmandakīyanītisāra 88 119 140
Kāmaśāstra 7 236
Kāmasūtra 303
Kambojas (belonging to the Eastern part of Afghanistan) 122 327
Kamelankoth 17
Kāmeśwara 285
Kāmeśwarī 285
Kampana or Kampanā (commander-in-chief) 97 98 100 103 104 188
Kampanādhipa, Kampanādhīśa 103
Kampanāpati 103 173
Kampaneśa 101 103 105
Kamraz (ancient Kramarājya) 110 111 139 146
Kanaka (Kalhaṇa's uncle) 269 277 306
Kāṇaśrāvatī 237
Kaṇatha 331
Kanauj (ancient Kānyakubja) 22 31 33 68 277 301
Kāñcī 258
Kānda 44
Kandarpa (a general of King Harṣa) 48 49 92 93
Kandarpa (a minister under King Kalaśa 93 99 102 103 135 147
Kandarpasiṁha 234
Kandhs 5 191
Kane, P.V. 87 151 152 153 155 158 159 160 161 272
Kanets 327
Kangra (Trigarta) 21 22 25 27 201
Kaniṣka 309
Kaṅka 328
Kaṅkālī 148 235 236
Kaṅkaṇa 258
Kāntirāja 203
Kānyakubja (Kanauj) 214 245 294
Kāpālikas 289 297
Kapīśa 272
Kapittha (cherry) 254
Kapphiṇa 273
Kapphiṇābhyudaya 241 273 275
Kapur, M. L. 4 44
Kara (tribute) 145 147 177
Kārkoṭa draṅga 18 101
Karambhaka (Khicari) 248
Kārkoṭa dynasty 9 25 81 83 158 162 310 319 321
Kārkoṭa kings 202 205 209 300 309 322
Kārkūn or Kārkun 114 219
Karmasthāna 152
Karṇābharaṇa Kāñcanam (ear ornament) 257
Karṇakuṇḍala 258
Karnāṭa 241
Karnāha, Karnav (in the upper Kishanganga 19 20 22 66
Karṇī (missile or arrow) 120
Karṇīratha (quiver or chariots) 120
Karṇīrathas (litters) 121 260
Karṇikā 258
Kārpatika 246
Karpūra (camphor) 258
Kārtika (a month) 253
Kashghar 328
Kashmir or Kaśmīra 1–4 8 10–16 18–23 26–33 35 38 39 41–46 49 51 52 56–61 63–66 68 69 70 72 74 75 79–86 88 91 92 94 95 96 100 101 102 108 111 112 113 115 116 117 119 121 122 125 126 127 129–136 138 140 141 143 145 146 147 149 152 153 159 163 164 168 169 171 172 174 175 177 178 180 184 185 187 193–197 199–211 213 214 215 217 218 219 221 224–227 230 232 233 236–42 244 245 247–57 259–66 268 270 272 274–81 284 286 287 289 291–94 296–301 303 304 305 307 310 312

314 318 319 320 321 326–34
Kāśmīraja 260
Kāśmīras or Kāśmīrikas (Kashmiri Brahmins consider themselves as such) 327 328
Kāṣṭavāṭa or Kāṣṭhavāṭa (Kishtwar) 1 21 22 44 202 329
Kaśyapa 263 264 326 327 329
Kathāsaritsāgara 9 10 85 107 225 228 241 281 288
Katoch (rajas) 25
Katt (palanquin) 261
Kātyāyana 153 160 161
Kaul, G.L. 28 33 263 322
Kaula 289
Kaulācāra 291
Kaulindras 332
Kaumārī 288
Kauṇinda 331 332
Kauṭilya 87 88 91 92 117 119 124 129 130 165 177
Kavi 311
Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa 6 8 246 247 320
Kāvya 10 306 311 322
Kāyastha (term for minor state functionaries, not a caste but a class of people) 7 8 57 92 106 107 108 109 110 115 116 142 168 196 200 205 219 224 271 291 301 315
Kāyastha Bhadreśvara 109
Keith, A. B. 281
Kerala 284
Kern, H. 330
Keśava (a Brahmin from Trigarta) 92
Keyūra (armlet) 258
Khaḍga (sword) 134
Khaḍūvī (a district) 60 63 189 190
Khan (sub-caste) 198
Khanabaṭa 260
Khaṅga (sword) 134
Khaṅkha 225
Khārkhodavidyā (sorcery) 162
Kharwars 111
Khaśa, Khaśakas or Khāśikas 16 19 23 27 28 47 64 84 93 97 102 180 197 224 231 234 235 300 327 328 329 331
Khasā (a woman's name) 327
Khāśaka 28 164
Khaśāli 328
Khasaṭā 213
Khassia 328
Khaśīra 327
Khaśiraḥ or Kāśmīraḥ 329
Khavāsadivira 114
Khed or Kher (ploughing), Khede or Khera (a small agricultural village) 172
Kheri (modern Khur Distt.) 10 104 173 288
Kheri (the crown land) 144
Kheri (as a post) 95 104 106 144 172 173
Kherikārya (a special high office connected with the administration of royal allodial domains) 106 144 172 173
Kheṭaka (shield) 135
Khiṅkhila 310
Khonamuṣa (modern Khunmuh) 259
Khond 164 224
Khurnarvav (a Pargana) 106 173
Kielhorn 36 37 38
Kīra 328 331 332
Kirāta 328 331
Kīrti or Kīrtirāja (of Babbāpura or Babor, Durgara) 42 44
Kīrtidhara 43 44
Kīrtirāja 43 44
Kishanganga 19 20 66 134
Kishtwar (Kiṣṭvār) 21 22 202 329
Kitāb-ul-Hind 12 133
Kol 164
Koṅkaṇa 68 301
Konow, S. 279
Konsarnaga (Kramasaras) 173
Koṣa 140

Koṣa (as an ordeal) 161
Kosala 273
Kosambi, D. D. 169 172 192 193 194 195 196 197 200 201 204 205 208 217 260 270 271
Koṣapāna 163 164 165
Koṣṭhaka 224 235
Koṣṭheśvara (a Ḍāmara) 65 334
Koṭṭeśa (in-charge of a fortress) 134
Krām (tribal name) 195 197 199 333 334 335 336
Kramarājya (modern Kamraz) 40 50 52 89 102 108 149 186 190 207 335
Krām Ḍar 197 198
Kramavarta 17
Krodhavaśā 327
Krout gad (fish) 253
Kṛṣṇā (modern Kishanganga river) 19 67
Kṛṣna (god) 135 225 226 263 264 296 298 327
Kṛtyaratnākara 272
Kṣatriya (caste) 84 137 138 140 150 163 211 224 229 231 300
Kṣema (a barber) 92 105 110 145 234
Kṣemagaurīśvara (a temple) 266
Kṣemagupta (A. D. 950–58) 27 84 203 226 230 255 266 274
Kṣemarāja 293
Kṣemendra (Vyāsadāsa, Kashmir polymath) 1 5 6 7 8 17 98 103 104 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 138 146 148 152 153 155 159 160 174 175 196 212 236 237 238 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 255 256 257 258 276 280 281 289 290 298 301 303 308 312 320
Kṣīra (a Ḍāmara of Maḍavarājya) 189
Kṣīra or Kṣīriṇī (milk pudding) 251
Kṣīrasvāmin 145 154 240
Kṣitirāja (Ananta's cousin, ruler of Lohara) 41 82 203 301 329
Kṣurikā 134
Kubera (God of wealth in Hindu mythology) 55
Kucika (name of a people) 331
Kulatha (Delichos Bilflorus) 248
Kulavyūha 284
Kulindas 327
Kulu or Kulūta 21 201
Kullūka on Manu 21 201 261
Kullūkabhaṭṭa 282
Kulūta or Kulūtas 331 332
Kumāradāsa 246
Kumārāmātyas 175
Kumaon 328
Kumari, Ved 262 329
Kumbhalmer 182
Kuṁkuma (saffron) 258 259
Kumudalekhā 231
Kuṇḍala (ornamental ear-rings) 257
Kuṇḍalinī Śakti 287
Kun-dgah-rgyat Mtshan (the Lama of Tibet) 281
Kunta (spear) 134
Kūparahitam 157
Kūpasahitam 158
Kuriat 31
Kūrma 298
Kūrmavibhāga of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 328
Kurukṣetra 263
Kuśalaśrī (a Śramaṇa) 269
Kuṣāṇa 283
Kuṭṭanīmatam 11 155 236 237 239 240 245 248 255 257 303

Ladakh 20
Ladakhis 252
Lagnas 189

Lahara (a Distt.) 57 58 60 63 90 148 187 190 249
Lahore 24 29
Lakkanacandra (Ḍāmara of Dugdhaghāṭa) 190
Lakṣamaka (chamberlain of Jayasiṁha) 63 64 65 69 91 97 132 137
Lakṣmaṇāditya 246
Lakṣmī 85 256
Lakṣmīdhara (minister of King Harṣa) 51 284
Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (*c.* A. D. 724/25–61) 1 14 25 69 79 80 120 121 122 123 130 199 200 201 208 209 212 214 239 245 254 255 260 265 266 273 294 299 315 321 324 332 333
Lalithā Śakti 285
Lallanji Gopal 155
Laltā 228
Lampākas (Kafirs of Hindustan) 327
Lassen 2 103
Laṣuna 249
Lāṭaḍiṇḍira 246
Latif, S. M. 29 30 31 34
Laṭṭa, Laṭṭana 246
Laufer, B. 260
Lauhawar or Lauhavar (taken as Lahore by Wilson) 133
Lavana Parvat 334
Lavaṇotsa 334 335
Lavanya (Lons) 181 188 194 197 198 199 204 217 224 301 332 333 334 335 336
Lawrence, W. 12 26 111 112 142 146 147 149 150 180 197 219 224 247 253 254 259 260 335 336
Li (pears) 254
Liebich, Von B. 103
Liṅga 267
Liversedge 170
Lohara Castle, Lohara dynasty 1 2 4 9 11 18 19 22 23 24 25 28 32 35 39 41 44 45 46 50 53 54 56 58 60 61 62 64 65 66 67 69 70 71 78 80 81 82 83 84 86 89 91 94 96 97 100 103 108 120 121 123 124 126 127 128 130 132 133 138 140 144 147 161 173 174 176 178 179 180 184 185 187 188 190 202 203 204 211 219 221 226 230 231 232 235 254 255 257 262 265 266 267 268 269 271 277 278 300 301 302 304 305 309 313 316 328 329 330
Loharakoṭṭa or Lohkot (word used by Mohammadan historians for Lohara castle) 23 30 31 131 133
Loharin 18 23 24 27
Lokaprakāśa 8 98 99 103 111 114 115 152 159 160 174 175 212 248 254 255
Lon or Lūnī (a sub-caste, word for Lavanya) 198 199 224 333 334 335 336
London 1 11
Loṣṭaka (Ḍāmara of Selyapur) 190
Loṭhana (the brother of Salhaṇa) 58 64 65 66 69 132
Lu 321
Luj in Pangi 39
Lyall, A. 192

Machipur (Pargana) 267
Madana (c–in–c) 103
Madanapāla (King Saṁgrāmapāla's uncle) 41
Maḍavarājya (modern Maraz) 50 52 89 108 110 146 187 190 197 199 207 216
Madhudmatī (river) 130
Madhuravaṭṭa (commander of cavalry) 135
Madhusudan Koul 107 294 297
Madhyadeśī 214
Madirā 286
Madra 284
Magadha 273
Magnus Erlingsson 324

Māgha (a month) 253
Māgha (author) 246
Māghakṛṣṇāṣṭamī 253
Mahābhairava 284
Mahābhārata 24 132 138 150 151 161 221 255 326 327 328 329
Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali 240 245
Mahādevī 222
Mahālakṣmī 288
Mahāmātyas 104 105 106 124
Mahānirvāṇatantra 235
Mahāpadma (lake) 20 66
Mahāpadmavana 285
Mahāpratihārapīḍa 226
Mahāsamaya (a tantric rite) 290
Mahāsandhivigrahika 98
Mahāsarit 187
Mahattama 101 108 109 110 144 189
Mahattara 109
Mahāvarāha (title of Viṣṇu image) 265
Maheśvara 269
Maheśvarī 288
Mahāyāna Buddhism 274
Mahmūd of Ghaznī 1 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 123 125 131 133 176 184 300 304 322
Mahipāla (word used for adjoining princes) 177
Maine 169 192
Maithuna 286
Maitrikas 98
Majumdar, B. K. 125
Majumdar, R.C. 34 78 229 238 262 273 276 277 278 282
Majumdar, S. N. 36
Malabar 251
Mālavakuvalaya (author) 246
Mālavarudra (author) 246
Malaya 250
Malik 198
Mālikā 258
Mālinivijayottaratantra 295
Malla (father of Uaccala and Sussala) 42 50 51 53 56 99 173 204 231 301
Malla (son of Vaṭṭa, incharge of Kheri during King Sussala) 188
Mallakoṣṭha (a Ḍāmara of Lahara) 58 60 148 187 188 190
Mallārjuna (a half-brother of King Jayasiṁha) 65 69 106 137 139 147 229
Malwa 38 57
Mammā 234
Māṁsa 286
Maṇḍaleśa (governor) 108 110
Mandi 24
Maṅgalapura (modern Manglor) 43
Māṇikya (Commander of watch-station during Harṣa) 148
Maṅkha (poet) 1 67 174 175 214 244 301 303 311 314 318
Maṅkha (Ḍāmara of Naunagara) 190
Maṅkhanā 234
Maṅkhaka 267
Manoratha 240
Mantrin 87 89 176
Mantriparişad 87
Manu, Manusmṛti 73 74 76 77 78 87 88 95 99 113 119 123 138 140 141 145 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 160 161 162 165 211 212 213 218 219 220 222 228 229 244 249 253 260 273 282 283
Marbal 21
Marco-Polo 12 291
Margan Pass 21
Mārgaśīrṣa (Māgha, a month) 29 223
Marica (Pepper Nigrum) 250
Marion, Gibbs 166 167 178
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 328
Mārtaṇḍa (temple) 260 265 266 268 277 299
Māṣa (Phaseolus Radiatus) 248
Masūra (lentils or Lens Esculenta) 248

Maṭha 10 17 139 241 242 244 265 266 267 288
Mati Lal Das 155 156
Mātṛcakra 10 285 286 288 289 290
Mātṛgupta (author) 246
Matṛgupta (nominee of the king of Ujjayinī in the first half of the sixth century) 153 175 208 240
Mātṛkā (bawd) 237
Mātṛkas 288
Mātṛsiṁha 234
Matsya 213 286 298
Matsyāpūpa (Matsyasūpa, Matsyāyūṣa) 253
Matsyapurāṇa 220
Maula (hereditary standing army) 124 126
Mauryas 108
Maurya period 177
Māyā (illusion) 296
Mazumdar, B. P. 333 334 335
Medhātithi (on Manu) 84 123 149 219 222 238 252 260
Meek, C. K. 170
Medieval Europe 125 302 319
Meghamañjarī (queen of Sussala) 62
Meghavāhana 279 289
Mekhalā (girdle) 258
Menilā (Jayasiṁha's daughter) 67
Meruka 331
Meruvardhana 243
Meṣa 251
Mewar 182
Mihirakula 74 76 213 288 289 310 320 334
Mir (sub-caste) 198
Mirza Haider 113
Mirzapur 164
Mitra (troops belonging to an ally) 124
Mitra, R. C. 264 274 275 277 281
Mleccha princes 35 36 66 68 140 180 198 252 269
Modi, J. J. 26
Mokṣa 8
Mongoloid Khaśas 328
Monier Williams 109 113 120 174 286 331 335
Moorcroft 2 24 255 260
Mount Kailāśa 293
Mudga (Phaseolus Mungo) 248
Mudrā (roasted corn) 286
Mudritā 159 161
Mughal 150 198
Mughalsarai of Aliabad 17
Muhammad Ashraf, K. 322
Muhammad Tughlaq 46
Muhammedan 322
Muhammedan East 319
Muhammedan period 8
Muhi Pass 173
Mujmal-ut-Tawārikh 135
Mukhyamantrin 89
Mukta (King Harṣa's cook) 53
Muktākaṇa (author) 246
Muktakeśava (title of Viṣṇu image) 265
Muktāpīḍa (author) [for king, see under Lalitāditya] 246
Muktasvāmin 265
Muktikalaśa 245
Mūladeva 7
Mūlādhāra 287
Mullah Ahmad 146 320
Mu-lo-shi-chi (Kashmirian Buddhist monk) 276
Mummuni 177
Mundas 191
Muslim 3 193 194 198 253
Muquaddam or Lambardar 142
Muzzafarabad 19 20
Mysore 284

Nāga (the Prefect of town during Harṣa) 53

Nāga (Tuṅga's brother) 234
Nāgalatā 222
Nāgalekhā (Jayasiṁha's queen from Rājapurī) 67
Nāgapāla (younger brother of Somapāla) 59
Nāgara (ginger) 250
Nagaradivira 114
Nagarādhipa (Prefect of city) 104
Nāga worship 26
Nāgarakhaṇḍa 250
Nagarakoṭṭa 24 25 320
Nāgārjuna 263
Nāgas 9 263
Nagṇāta 269
Nai (wild plum) 254
Nakka 280
Nālandā 276
Nāmavyūha 284
Nanda 33
Nandā (the mother of Uccala & Sussala) 230 231
Nandana (fort) 29 30
Nandaviṣṭha 331
Nandigupta (A. D. 972–73) 27 274
Nandikṣetra (tīrtha) modern Nandkol 294 313
Nandūnah 29
Nanga Parvat 20
Nankum 20
Nāradasmṛti 73 99 141 151 152 153 154 155 156 161 162 163 165 227
Naranātha (word used for adjoining princes) 177
Narasiṁha 298
Narasiṁhagupta 294
Naravāhana (Queen Diddā's minister) 92 230 231 233
Naravarman (Parmāra king of Malwa) 57
Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) 85
Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (author) 246
Nardein 31
Nārdūn 29
Narendrabhavana 272
Narendrāditya 1 289
Narmamālā 6 8 107 108 110 113 115 117 153 215 247 248 249 250 251 252 255 256 258 289 290 291
Nartakīs 239
Naṣṭarājya 331
Navamadyapāna 255
Nāyaka (Prefect) 144
Nayana 195
Nazim 29 30 31 33 34
Nepal 284 321 328
Nigama 283
Nikṣepa (deposit) 155
Nīla (Nāga) 263 307
Nīlamatapurāṇa 8 9 77 119 151 153 157 176 223 224 247 248 249 250 251 253 254 255 257 258 259 262 263 264 272 296 298 302 308 319 327
Nīlamatas (blue records) 9
Nīlanāga (lord of Kashmir Nāgas) 9 307
Nilaporana (sic) 198
Nīlapura 42 44
Nīlāśva (a Kashmir District) 190
Ni-lo-pi-tu or *c'ha* (Nīlapītam) 320
Nindoona 29
Ninduna 29
Nirjitvarman (nicknamed *Paṅgu* or the lame) 127 128
Nishads 198
Nītikalpataru 6
Nītiśāstra 312
Nītivākyāmṛta 88 89 120 121 133 140 151
Niyogī 108 168 290
Niyogi, P. 250 251
Nonaka (minister of King Kalaśa) 93 105
Non-Aryan 132
Normans 125 209
Norway 324
Nṛpa or nṛpāḥ 172 177
Nṛpāvalī 247 320
Nūpura (anklets) 258

Nūrpur 18
Nyāsa (deposit) 154 155
Nyayaks 198

Odin 324
Odyssey 9
Om Prakash 250 254
Oraons (of Central Highlands of India) 191
Ou-K'ong 12 14 19 273

Pādāgra 92 93 96 97 104 105 106 108 110 145 173
Padma 284
Padmamihira 146 308
Padmapura (modern Pampur) 259 260 335
Padmapurāṇa 24 229 252
Padmarāja 38
Padmāsana 275
Padmaśrī (queen of Kalaśa) 45
Pahārī or Pahārī 18 327
Pāja (a Ḍāmara of Śamālā) 190 204
Palāṇḍu (onion) 249
Pālevata, Pārāvata, Hindi : Pālevat 254
Palola 331
Pañcacandra (a Ḍāmara) 63 189
Pañcāladeva 17
Pañcatattva (*madirā, māṁsa, matsya, mudrā & maithuna*) 286
Pandey, K. C. 264 274 275 286 289 292 293 294 297 298 313 321 330
Pandey, Ramtej Shastri 103
Pandit, M. P. 285
Pandit, R. S. 3 38 39 118 122 154 163 240 248
Paṇḍita 241 252 254 256 263 335
Paṇḍits 218 219 240
Pāṇḍrethan or Pandrethan (ancient Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna) 228 321
Pāpaḍa 248
Pāpasūdanatīrtha 38
Pāradas 327
Paramāṇuka 70 304
Paramārthasāra 295
Parāśakti 287
Parāśaramādhavīya 159
Paraśu (battle axe) 134
Pare (subcaste) 198
Pārihārya (bracelets) 258
Parihāsakeśava (title of Viṣṇu image) 265 267
Parihāsapura (modern Paraspor) 52 93 108 215 265 276 315 321
Parimala 246
Paripālaka 108 109
Pariṣad 88
Pāriṣadyas (or Pārṣada) 81 172 215 216 219 256 302
Parmādi (the lord of Karnāṭa) 241
Parmāṇḍī 70
Parṇotsa (modern Poonch) 18 19 22 23 27 30 41 61 93 234 243 329
Parpaṭa 248
Parṣad 178 215
Paraśurāma 298
Pārtha (A. D. 906-21) 94 127 128 274
Parvagupta 27
Parvagupta (minister of Unmattāvantī) 83
Parvagupta (the regent minister of Saṁgrāmadeva) 126
Parvagupta (A. D. 949-50) 176 230 266
Pārvatī 72 85 225 263 264 294 296 298 302 313 331
Patan 111
Patañjali 240
Pathans 191 198
Paṭṭa (grant) 182
Paṭṭa (gold band) 237

Paṭṭadevī or Paṭṭamahiṣī 237
Paṭṭopādhyāya (recorder of official documents) 117
Paurava 331
Peaches (T'au) 254
Pear (Tang) 254
Percy Brown 4
Persia 255
Persian 2
Persian Manuscripts 11
Peshawar 29
Petech, L. 13
Petersburg (lexicon or Wörterbuch) 113 136 330
Phālguṇa (Prime Minister of King Abhimanyu (A. D. 958-72) 130
Phālguṇa (month of March) 132 243 256
Phiryyaḍāra or Phiryyaḍāmara 198
Pikut or *Pekri* gad (fish) 253
Pir Panjal 15 16 17 19 21 28 52 61 101 173 249 329
Piśācakapura 243
Piśācas 253 327
Piśitaṣīs 327
Piṣṭaka 248
Pitharāja 204
Pokrovsky, M. N. (Soviet Marxist historian) 167
Pomegranate (dān) 254
Poonch 18 19 21 23 24
Po-tau (grapes) 254
Prabhākaradeva 231
Prāḍavivāka (a judge) 160
Pradhāna Prakṛti (Ministers) 89 96
Pradhāna Saciva 89
Prajāpati 86
Prajāpati Kaśyapa 307
Prājidhara (a hill chief) 67
Prājñabhaṭṭa 11 259 322
Prakrit 241
Prakṛtis (elements) 119
Prakriyā-Vaco (formality) 233
Pramadakaṇṭha 270
Pramadakaṇṭha (a tantric guru) 290
Prasad, D. 3 90
Prasādapāla 236 237
Praśastakalaśa (a minister) 93
Praśastipaṭṭa 308
Praśastis 306
Prasenajit 273
Pratāpapāla (Somapāla's elder step-brother) 59
Pratihāra or Kṣattāra (chamberlain) 91 97
Pratikāra (compensatory assignment) 205
Pratiṣṭhitā 159
Pratyabhijñā 276 293 297
Pratyabhijñāśāstra 292
Pratyanantare 156
Prāvāra 256
Pravarapura 255 267
Pravareśa temple 25
Pravareśvara 289
Pravāsavetana (marching allowance) 124 137
Prāya (solemn fast) 137 143
Prayāga (Harṣa's personal servant) 53
Prayāga (minister of Paramāṇuka) 71
Prāyaścita Prakaraṇa 222
Prāyopaveśa (voluntary starvation) 56 79 162 215
Pṛthvīcandra 25
Pṛthvīdevī, Pṛthvīvarśikā 237
Pṛthvīgiri (fortress in Rājapurī) 49 132
Pṛthvīhara (a Ḍāmara from Śamālā) 61 65 187 188 190 334 335
Prunts 23
Pulinda or Pulindas 327 328
Pulkasa 328
Punjab 15 16 17 18 22 23 24 25 33 61 125 249 334 335
Punjab District Gazetteers 29
Punjādri 331

Purāṇa or Purāṇas 8 9 136 263 264 272 282 306
Pūrṇimā 253
Purohita Corporation 109 143 150 153 218 221 256 301
Purohitas 28 81 93 206 215 216 217
Pushian 17
Puṣiāṇanāḍa (modern Pushian village at the south foot of Pir Panjal Pass) 17 61 101 187
Puṣya Constellation 298

Qazi Ali 111

Raḍḍa 57 83 128
Raḍḍādevī (queen of Jayasiṁha) 69
Raghunath Singh 71
Raghuvaṁśa 120
Rājā or Rājās (a word used for adjoining princes) 175 177
Rājagṛhyas 99 100
Rājamahattama 160
Rājāmātya (Councillor) 98
Rājānaka 27
Rājānakas or Rānās 202
Rājanavāṭikā (modern Rānivor) 216
Rājapurī (Rajouri) 1 16 17 21 22 23 41 47–52 56 58 59 61 63 64 65 67 92 102 124 131 135 136 137 138 147 180 189 190 207 208 234 269 300 329
Rājarāja 313
Rajput 28 125 182 191 192 193 199 224 234
Rajputa Kula 182
Rājaputras 61 98 124 125 126 176 203 204 227 239 270
Rajaputana 125 192
Rājaśekhara (author) 246
Rajasthan 182 190 191 192
Rājasthāna or Rājasthānādhikāra (an office) 98 99 161
Rājasthāna (the court) 99
Rājasthānādhikārabhāk 99
Rājasthānas (other states or kingdoms) 98
Rājasthānīya (the chief justice) 97 98 99 100 104 160 173 214
Rājasthānīyamantriṇaḥ 99 100
Rājataraṅgiṇī 1–5 7 10 11 13–16 18 22 24 25 28 29 32 36–39 42 43 54 72 74 75 79 80 83 84 87 88 91 95–129 131–140 142 143 144 146–154 157–161 163 164 165 169 171 172 174–181 183–190 195 196 198–207 209 211–237 239–243 248–256 258–261 263 265–270 272 273 274 277–280 286 288–291 293 294 296 299 306 307 308 310 311–320 322–327 329–333 335
Rājavadana (a Ḍāmara) 67
Rājavihāra 265
Rājeśvara (lord of the Gate) 40
Rājeśvara (son of Bhadreśvara) 102
Rājyaśrī (Jayasiṁha's daughter) 67
Rākṣasas 327
Ralha 231
Rāmadeva 84 126
Ramah gad (fish) 253
Ramaganga (river) 34
Ramanyāṭavī 17
Rāmāyaṇa 124
Rāmāyaṇamañjarī 6
Rānā or Ranas 202 336
Raṇāditya (legendary king) 85
Raṇasvāmin 268 277
Raṅga (a śvapaka) 117 175 222
Rasa 225
Rāṣṭra 131 145
Ratan Pir Pass 17
Rather (sub-caste) 198
Rathis 336
Ratnādevī 267

Ratnakalaśa (brother of Minister Praśastakalaśa) 93
Ratnākara (author) 246
Ratnākara 11 146
Ratnākarapurāṇa 146
Ravi (river) 13 21 22 24
Ray, H.C. 4 35 36
Ray, S.C. 4 36 211 214 252 274 307 314 315
Rembyar 17
Ṛgveda 132 297
Rilhaṇa (King Jayasiṁha's minister) 212 268
Rissu (author) 246
Rocher 89
Rom (name for gypsies) 224
Roman colonus 171
Roman Empire 170
Ross, E.D. 15
Ṛṣis 153
Rūḍabhāroḍhi (forced carriage of loads) 144 149 150 221
Rudrapāla Śāhi 25 35
Ruhut (river) 34
Rūpa 225
Rupri Pass 16 17

Śabda 225
Śabdakalpadruma 286
Sabhā 152 161 301
Sabhāpati 240
Sabhyas (courtiers) 153 158 160
Saciva (minister) 87 176
Ṣaḍbhāga 145
Ṣaḍarhadvana (modern Harvan stream) 293
Sadāśiva 295
Sādhaka (devotee) 296
Sādhanā 283 285
Saffron 149 196 201 202 209 237 240 257 260
Sāgara 35
Sahadeva 279
Sahajā (Malla's daughter-in-law) 231 239
Sahajapāla 41
Sahasramaṅgala 58 82
Sāhavāhana 38
Sahela (a Mahattama, commander-in-chief of King Harṣa) 49 52 95 101 109
Sahelaka (the Mahattama) 109 144
Śāhi (or Śāhis of Kabul) 28 29 32 34 35 84 85 123 125 131 176 184 204 232 234 270 300 320 322
Sāhil (author) 246
Śāhi Trilocanapāla 29 33 176 184
Śāhi queens 53
Śāhiya dynasty (or Hindu Śāhiya dynasty) 25 33
Sahni, D.R. 279
Saicindha 331
Saindhavas 125
Śaiva 272
Śaivāgama 293 298
Śaivas 264 282
Śaiva Śāstra 294
Śaivism 2 262 264 284 287 291 292
Śaivite 245 256 312 313
Sajjaka (father of Śṛṅgāra) 97
Sajjanānanda 280
Śaka or Śakas (Scythians) 36 327
Śāka (green leafy vegetable) 249
Śākta 255 282 285 286 287 290
Śakti or Śacti (sic) 86 265 283 284 285 286 287 289 290 294 295 296 297 299 302
Śāktism 284 287
Śaktisvāmin (minister under Lalitāditya) 214
Saktu (Porridge) 248
Śākya Puṅgava 275
Śākyas (Buddhist acetics) 272
Śākyaśrī 281
Śāla 36 38
Sālavāhana 36 38

Salhaṇa (A. D. 1111-12, a half-brother of Uccala) 57 83 91 120 128 133 181 186 190 231
Śāli 247
Salt Range 21 29 249 334 335
Sāma (conciliation) 137
Śamālā (modern Hamal Distt.) 20 62 190 335
Śamaṅgāsā 187
Sāmanta or Sāmantas 102 124 129 169 171 172 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 182 183 185 193 194 197 208 218 302
Sāmantadvija 172 178
Samarasiṁha (a rich Ḍāmara) 196 235
Samarasvāmin (temple) 109
Samayamātṛkā 6 115 139 142 148 155 160 196 215 235 236 237 238 239 246 247 249 251 253 257 258 260 291
Śambhuvardhana 128
Saṁdhivigrahika (minister for war & peace) 104 107 214 267 268 311
Saṁgamāditya 293
Saṁgrāma (a Ḍāmara) 128 163 181
Saṁgrāmadeva 27 226
Saṁgrāmapāla (lord of Rājapurī) 41 42 47 51 59 136 138
Saṁgrāmarāja (A. D. 1003-28) 27 28 29 30 33 34 81 88 92 93 97 109 110 124 142 176 203 215 217 218
Śaṁkara 275
Śaṁkarācārya 274
Śaṁkaradigvijaya 275
Śaṁkarānanda 277
Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) 19 22 25 34 90 106 108 120 121 125 131 142 149 150 177 205 206 221 226 230 242 268 271
Sammohatantra 284 289
Sandhimat 240
Sandhivigraha 311
Sandhivigrahaka 313
Saṅgata (king of Uraśā, i.e. Hazara) 42
Sangsafed 18
Sañjapāla (commander-in-chief of Jayasiṁha) 95
Śaṅkhadanta 240
Sanskrit 224 241 242
Śāntarasa (the sentiment of resignation) 307
Śāntiparva 87 132 221
Śapatha 165
Śara (arrow) 134
Śāradā 2
Śaradā Manuscripts 114
Śārambara 18
Sārasvatas 214
Sarasvatī (goddess of learning) 240
Sarasvatīvilāsa 159
Sarat Chandra Das 280
Śardi 20
Sarkar 153
Śarkarā (white sugar) 250
Sarpis (butter) 251
Sārūgh 30
Sarvādhikārin (Prime Minister) 92 97 104
Sarvādhikṛta 89 97
Sarvādhikāritā 221
Śāsanas (land grants) 114
Śāsitā or Śāstritā 159
Śāstras 211 213 214 242 308
Satadru 24
Śatakapāleśa 288
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 132
Sati 224 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 304
Sati or Satisaras (Lake of Sati) 264
Sattar gad (fish) 253
Ṣaṭṭila 223
Saundaryalaharī 284 285
Saurasa 272
Saxena, K.S. 4 27 36 37
Sayads 198
Scandinavians 163
Scotland 54 202

Scythians 235 327
Selyapur 195
Sevyasevakopadeśa 6 8 247
Sewell, R. 186
Shah (a sub-caste) 198
Shah Jahan 8
Shakespeare 325
Shalimar 293
Shama Shastry 78 147
Sharāf-ud-dīn 15 112
Sharma, R. S. 109 118 150
Sheikh, Sheikhs 197 198
Sheshagiri Iyer, T.V. 238
Shivāgama 291
Shiwalik hills 33
Shuddhānanda Bhāratī 287
Sicily 209
Siddhapatha (modern village of Sidau or Budil) 16
Sikandar 146
Sikandar Shah (Mohammedan Iconoclast) 11
Sills, David, L. 210
Siṁhadvāra 157
Siṁhapura 21
Siṁharāja of Lohara (father of Queen Diddā) 27 84 203
Sind 250
Singh, S. D. 145
Sino-Iranica 260
Śiraḥśāṭa 256
Śiraḥśilā (castle) 20 134 317 327
Śiraḥśilākoṭṭa (a hill castle on the Kishanganga) 66
Sircar, D. C. 145 165 182
Sir Carnac Temple 228
Sir Walter Scott 325
Śiva 7 72 76 85 86 90 225 246 256 263 264 265 266 268 270 274 283 284 285 287 290 292 294 295 296 297 298 299 313 331
Śivadṛṣṭi 294 297
Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra 265
Śiva Paśupati 284
Śivaratha (a Brahmin Kāyastha) 116
Śivarātri (festival) 256
Śiva Rilhaṇeśvara 267
Śiva-sūtra literature 292
Śivasūtravimarśinī 293
Śivasvāmin 241 273 275
Śiva Ugreśa 289
Skandaka or Skandakas (village headmen) 107 142 206
Smith, V. A. 32 33
Smṛti 99 145 146 151 152 153 155 156 160 161 162
Smṛti literature 12
Smṛtis 222 229 282 302
Smṛtyarthasāra 222
Snorro Sturlesson or Snorri 323 324 325
Śobha (Ḍāmara of Degrāma) 190 203
Solomon 57 157
Somacakra 287
Somadeva (poet) 1 9 10 120 303
Somadeva Suri 151
Somānanda 293 294 296 297
Somapāda 244
Somapāla (king of Rājapurī) 59 61 64 65 67 137 189
Somavarmadeva 36
Somavarman 37 38 39
Somendra 280 281
Soraka 272
Spandakārikas 292 293
Spandasarvasva 293
Spandaśāstra 292 293
Spanda School 276
Spanda Sūtra 292
Sparśa 225
Sprott, W. J. H. 170 171
Śrādha (a ceremony connected with Hindu ancestor worship) 212 251 253
Śramaṇa Kuśala Śrī 277 280
Śreṇī (corporation of soldiers) 124 130
Śreṣṭhasena (known as Pravara-

sena I and Tuñjina II, son of Meghavāhana) 25 289
Śreyas (credit) 154
Śrīcakra 285 287 290
Śriḍhakka 163
Śrīdhara (a Brahmin) 88
Śrīharṣa (author) 246
Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva) 268 293
Śrīkaṇṭhacarita 151 169 174 175 214 215 303 311 313 314
Śrīkaṇṭhī 330
Śrīkṛṣṇa 298
Śrīlekhā (Queen-mother of Harirāja) 35 126
Śrīmatutpalarāja (author) 246
Srinagar 16 40 53 60 61 62 63 110 132 138 139 148 176 187 197 228 259 273 276 278 293 335
Śrīnātha 293
Sripara(mānaka)deva (Paramāṇuka as mentioned on coins) 71
Śrīrāma 298
Śrīvaka 104
Śrīvara (poet) 11 172 198 254 322
Śṛṅgāra (the son of Sajjaka, Prime Minister of Jayasiṁha) 94 97
Śṛṅgāra 214 311 314
Śṛṅkhalā (chain or necklace) 257 258
Śrotriya (priest) 143
Śruti 282 283
Śrutiśākhāviśeṣaḥ 283
Stein, M. A. 3 8 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 24 26 28 29 36 42 44 68 85 93 98 99 100 103 104 105 106 108 110 111 112 113 117 118 122 126 127 129 133 134 137 139 142 153 154 155 156 161 162 165 172 173 178 180 183 184 199 200 202 204 214 215 223 224 247 248 249 250 253 254 258 260 267 269 273 277 279 280 306 309 311 312 314 315 319 321 322 324 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336
Stheyas (judges) 153
Strī 225
Strīdhana 258
Struve, P. 166
Stuarts 54 150
Stūpa 265 272 279 307
Śuddha Śakti 285
Śūdra 140 211 212 222 224 242
Sufi, G. M. D. 3 26 254
Sugandhā (A. D. 904-6) 90 126 127 128 226 230 231 304
Suhula (the ambassador of the king of Kanauj at Jayasiṁha's court) 67
Sujjaka (commandant of the 'Gate' during King Harṣa's reign) 100 102
Sujji (a minister) 26 63 64 65 69 70 77 95 130 137 189 216 279 317
Śuka 11 259 322
Śukapha (king of Assam) 321
Suket 24
Śukra or Śukranīti 76 77 87 89 95 99 113 117 119 133 140 151 152 153 160 254 328
Sūkṣamaṭikka 187
Śūla (darts) 134
Śulkasthāna (custom post) 148
Sullavihāra 267
Sultan 31
Sultans of Delhi 127
Sumatra 250
Sung Empire 276
Sunna (a general of King Harṣa of Lohara dynasty) 47 49 53 136 137
Suprabhātaprabhātastotra 277
Śūra (the minister) 16 292 334
Surāditya 38
Śūrapura (modern Hurpor) 16 52 101 148
Śūrapuradraṅga on the Pir Panjal Pass 101
Śūravarman 90 127 175 176
Sureśvara 275
Sureśvara tīrtha 106
Surendra (king) 272

Surendravatī 230
Sūrya 268 270 299
Suryakanta 5 6 244 247 298 320
Sūryamatī (queen of Ananta) 9 25 35 40 41 82 92 165 203 221 226 227 231 241 266 304
Sūryavarmacandra 203
Śuṣkaletra 272
Sussala 16 39 50 51 52 53 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 83 96 102 116 122 123 124 125 126 129-133 144 148 173 180 184 186-89 207 216-18 231 267 278 301 307 309 311 314 315 317
Sūta (equerry) 127
Sutlej 21 22 24
Sūtras 151
Sūtrikā (necklace) 258
Suvrata 308
Suvṛttatilaka 6 8 246
Suyya 222 242 243
Śvapākas 222 223
Śvāpika (castle) 93
Svarṇabhūmi 331
Sweden 324
Śyāmala 246

Tāḍidala (ear-rings) 258
Tāḍiyugam (ear-rings) 258
T'aifa (a word for tribe) 333
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 132
Takṣaka festival 236
Takṣakanāga 263
Tamālapatra (forehead marks) 258
Tambūla (betel-leaves) 251
Tāmrasvāmin 268 270
Taṇḍula 247
Taṅgaṇas 327 331
T'ang China 321
Tangtal Pass 17
Tangyur 277
Taṅka (coin type) 46 241
Taṅka (Pears) 254
Tantra 282 332
Tantrāloka 292 294 313 321 330
Tantrapati 311
Tantri (Kashmiri word connected with Tantrins) 129 198
Tantric 6 235 256 265 289 303
Tantric Buddhism 273
Tantric gurus 238
Tantricists 256
Tantric Pañcatattva ritual 286
Tantrin or Tantrins 94 125 127 128 129 137 175 331 332 335
Tantrin troops 53
Tanvaṅga (Ananta's brother, son of Jassarāja by another branch of the Loharas) 40 203
Tanvaṅgarāja 203
Tārāpīḍa 213 220
Tartar hordes 182
Tartary 265
Taṭakūṭī Peak 15 18
Tathāgata 281
Tauṣī 23
Tawi (river) 43
Taxila 21
Tejakaṇṭha (the ambassador of lord of Koṅkaṇa) 67
Tet gad (fish) 253
Ṭhakkana 203
Ṭhakkars 197
Ṭhakkura 51 137
Ṭhākur or Ṭhakurs 202 336
Thomas, F. W. 277
Tibet 20 272
Tibetan 241 252 278
T'ien-hsi-tsai 276
Tikka (a Ḍāmara) 62 188
Tila (Sesamum) 248
Tiladvādaśī 223 248
Tilaka (commander-in-chief of Sussala & Bhikṣācara) 60 102 139
Tilaka leaf 258
Tilakwada grant of Bhoja 38
Timariots of Turkey 182

Timur 15
Tīrthas 20 215 263 264 298 313
Tīrthas (state offices mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*) 152
Tod 182 183 190 191 192
Tohi (a river, ancient Tauṣī of Parṇotsa) 23 30
Tokhara (upper oxus) 321
Toṣamaidān pass 18 19 24 30 101
Trailokya 127
Trailokyadevī 230
Tribhuvana 27 126
Trigarta (Kangra) 21 22 24 25 36 43 92 331
Trika (Kashmir Śaivite school of Philosophy) 2 266 292 293 298
Trika-Śāsana or Trika-Shāsana 291 294
Trillaka 334
Trilocanapāla (Tarojanpāla or Pūrjaipal) 29 30 32 34 176 300
Trinetra 331
Tripathi, R. S. 68 109 237
Tripureśvara 266
Triśūlas 266
Trojan War 326
Troyer, M. A. 2 75 82 103 113 114 152
Tryambaka 293
Tsang, H. 162 222
Tsunt (apple) 254
Tudors 150
Tul (Mulberry) 254
Ṭulla (son of Ajjaka) 48
Tuṅga (a Khaśa from Parṇotsa) 27 28 29 30 32 88 93 95 97 109 124 131 176 184 215 226 234
Tungus 164
Tuñjīna (legendary king of Kashmir) 77 235 252
Tuñjina (author) 246
Turgānīka (cavalry force) 122
Turkish 32
Turkistan 31 328
Turks 269
Turuṣka (Turks) 29 30 49 252 270
Turuṣka (epithet for King Harṣa) 269
Turuṣkas or Turkish Muslims 125 131 137
Turuṣka-yavana 70

Uccala (A. D. 1101-11) 39 50 51 52 53 55 56 57 58 59 76 82 83 91 96 |99 100 116 122 123 128 137 138 139 144 148 154 157 172 174 184 185 186 207 226 231 232 237 267 278 301 315
Udaya (commander-in-chief) 268
Udayarāja (Diddā's brother) 27 81 203
Udayrāja (a prefect of King Harṣa) 143 269
Udhampur (Distt.) 198
Ugra 289
Ujjayini 208 240
Ulhaṇa 279
Unmattāvanti (A. D. 937-39) 175 213 334
Unyour gad (fish) 253
Upādhyāya 242
Upaniṣads 284
Uprikas 175
Uraśā (modern Hazara) 1 19 21 22 23 40 42 120 327
Utbi 29 31 33
Utkarṣa (A.D. 1089, the younger son of Kalaśa) 41 42 44 45 47 82 83 91 143 203 232 239 248 255 301 328 329
Utapala 62 63 83 293 309
Utapala dynasty (A. D. 855-939) 80 202 215 293
Utpala (the murderer of King Sussala) 101
Utpala (a Ḍāmara) 188
Utpalarāja or Utpalarājadeva (author) 246

Utpalaśāka (now called Upalhak) 249
Uttamarāja (ruler of Kāṣṭhavāṭa, Kishtwar) 42
Uttara 20
Uttarāpatha (northern region) 230
Uyen (Skt. ovana) 288

Vāga (a Ḍāmara of Śamālā) 190
Vāgabhaṭṭa (author) 246
Vaicitrya (diversity) 309
Vaidya, C. V. 30 32 33 34 36 98 237
Vaiṇāditya (c. 474-521) 146 147
Vains (Ḍars form a sub-caste of the *vains*, the original Muhammedans of Srinagar city) 197
Vaiśākha (April-May) 272 298
Vaiṣṇava 241 242 256 264 272 274 282 290 303
Vaiṣṇavī 288
Vaiṣṇavism 262 266 273 287 292
Vaiśya (caste) 140 336
Vaiśyas 211 221
Vākapuṣṭāṭavī 235
Valayayugalam (ear-rings) 258
Vallabhā 231
Vallabhi grants 98 113
Vallāpura (modern Ballawar or Balor) 22 39 43 58 59 125 131
Vallaṭa (author) 246
Vālmīki 95
Vāma 289
Vāmana (Prime Minister during King Kalaśā's time) 97 240 298
Vaṁśāvali 36 202 321
Vanarājya 331
Vantideva (son of King Paramāṇuka) 71
Vārabala (modern Barvul) 288
Varāha 221 298
Varāhakṣetra 130
Varāhamihira 246 328 331 332
Varāhamūla (modern Baramula) 13 133 253
Vārāhī 288
Varanasi 263
Vardachariar, S. 158 163
Varṇa 211 212 219 222 244
Varṇata 126 176
Varṣāditya 293
Vasantalekhā 232
Vasiṣṭhasmṛti 99 151 160 211
Vasugupta 292 293
Vātāma (almond) 255
Vātsyāyana 303
Vedānta 297
Vedas 162 240 244 282 283
Vedic 132 214
Vedic Index 133
Veśau (ancient Viśokā) 173
Vetāla (goblin) 116 317
Vibhāga (Section or Department) 106
Vicitrasiṁha 234
Viḍḍasīha (the Darada ruler) 66
Videha (son of Gargacandra) 186
Vidrumamālikā (chain made of shells) 258
Vidyādhara Śāhi (Darada ruler) 46
Vidyānanda (author) 246
Vidyāpati 214 241 245
Vidyāvivṛti 244
Vigne 253
Vigraharāja (the ruler of Lohara) 35 203 215 329
Vigraharāja (a half-brother of Jayasiṁha) 66
Vihāra or Vihāras 242 244 265 266 267 268 272 273 274 276 278 279 281 307
Vihi pargana 288
Vijaya (a Ḍāmara) 60 186
Vijayakṣetra 140 260 266
Vijayamalla (half-brother of Harṣa) 45 46 83 109 135

Vijayarāja (son of Ajjaka) 48
Vijayeśvara 40 41 53 82 121 190 203
Vīkramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (Cālukya king) 10 245
Vikramāditya (of Ujjayini) 153 240
Vikramāṅkadevacarita 10 36 46 214 221 240 245 251 255 259 263 306 322
Vikramarāja (king of Vallāpura) 67
Vilāsa 284
Vine (dach) 254
Vīradeva 202
Vīradeva (author) 246
Vīrasvarga (the heaven of heroes) 138
Virji, K. J. 98
Vīryabhadra 281
Viṣaya or Viṣayas (modern Parganas) 111 172 335
Viṣayādhikārin 111
Viṣlāṭā 22 23 60
Viṣṇu (God) 85 90 230 246 253 264 265 266 267 272 276 297 298 299 303 328
Viṣṇupurāṇa 299 327 328
Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin (temple) 223
Viṣṇusmṛti 99 113 115 119 140 145 156 158 159 161 163 211 229
Viṣṇu Tribhuvanasvāmin 162
Viṣṭi 149 150
Visvacarma (sic) 136
Viṭa (parasite) 237
Vitastā (Jhelum river) 13 15 19 20 23 79 110 186 253 260 267 268 294 329
Vitastā Valley 19
Vitastātra 272
Vivāda 151 152
Viveka 296
Vogel, J. Ph. 24 36 37 38 39 43 44 202 264 336
Volur lake 335
Vrīhi 247
Vuppadeva 71
Vyadamaṅgala 231
Vyāsa 246 247
Vyāsāṣṭaka 6
Vyavahāra 151
Vyavahāracintāmaṇi 89 151 161 162 163
Vyavahāramātṛkā 153
Vyavahārapādas 152
Vyūhas 284

Wachhulākar 146
Wain (sub-caste) 198
Walnut (Dūn) 254
Watters, T. 14 201 222 254 260 261 272
Western Feudalism 209
Wilford, Captain 328
William Crooke 191
Williams, Monier 335
William, Morris 323
Wilson, H. H. 2 24 103 133 172 264 265 274 275 327 332 333 335
Winternitz 9
Woodroffe, J. 282 283 285 286 287 289
Wool 149
Wular lake 20

Yadu 225
Yāga 291
Yajñavalkya 95 99 123 140 153 154 155 156 158 160 161 163 165 213 228 229 249
Yakṣas 327
Yamarāja (God of death) 10
Yāmikaḥ 222
Yaśaskara (king of Kashmir A.D. 939-48) 27 57 69 79 81 83 117 126

157 176 213 217 218 219 220 223 230 241 243 266 334
Yaśaskarasvāmin 266
Yaśovarmadeva (author) 246
Yaśovarman 294
Yaśovarman (author) 246
Yaśodhara 66
Yaśovatī (the widowed queen of Dāmodara I) 73 225 263
Yava (barley) 248
Yavana or Yavanas 125 328
Yāvakahariṇau pādau (feet coloured with red lac) 258
Yogī 275
Younghusband, F. 26 250
Yudhiṣṭhira 152 327
Yugling dynasty 324
Yugya (litter) 215 260

Zain-ul-Ābidīn 70 146 320 322
Zamindars 182
Zoji-la (Pass) 20 21
Zoroastrian 26

ERRATA ET ADDENDA

Page	*Line*	
12	15	*For* Smṛti *read* Epic
18	Fn. 3	*For* VIII. 40 *read* VII. 140
19	22	*Delete* Rawalpindi. For Gandhāra, in the valley of lower Kabul river, see Stein, *Rājat.* vol. I, I.66, note
28	Fn. 1	*For* Bhatti's *read* Bhaṭṭis
30	Fn. 1	*After* Elliot's version *add* vol. II, p. 451
31	Fn. 4	*For* 17 *read* 47
32	18	*For* Madmūd *read* Mahmūd
34	Fn. 2	*For* Nasim *read* Nazim
36	Fn. 6	*For* vol. II *read* vol. XVII
„	Fn. 9	*For* p. 42 *read* p. 275
38	Fn. 6	*Add* at the end : The date of King Bhoja of Malwa is given by K. M. Munshi, (*The Struggle for Empire,* Foreword, p. xii) as A.D. 1000-55.
44	28 and elsewhere	*For* Campaka *read* Caṇpaka
44	Add after para 3 : A further testimony of the considerable political and economic intercourse between the valley of Kashmir and the adjoining mountain tracts is the style of mediaeval monuments of Bhimbar and Rajauri, e. g., the temples of Saidabad and Panjnara which are almost wholly Kashmirian and the group of temples in Jammu province especially those of Ballaur and Thalora Babbapur, which though Indo-Aryan in plan, are predominantly Kashmiri in decoration. (Kak, R. C., *Antiquities of Basohli and Ramnagar*, p. 27, Delhi, 1972)	
48	22 and elsewhere	*For* sons *read* nephews
49	7	*For* impostrors *read* imposters
61	29	*For* rebelliou *read* rebellious
73	9	*For Nāradasaṁhitā read Nāradasmṛti*
83	14, 26	*For* A.D. 1111 *read* A.D. 1101; for *c.* 600-885 read *c.* 600-855

84 360	last line col. 2, last line	*For* A.D. 904-905 *read* A.D. 902-904
90	6	*For* 855/6-813 *read* 855/6-883
91	Fn. 7	*For* sec. II *read* sec. IV
94	Fn. 3	*For* VI *read* V
100	24	*For* A.D. 1809 *read* A.D. 1089
104	Fn. 4	*For* VI.167 *read* V.167
109	Fn. 4	*For* R. C. Sharma *read* R. S. Sharma; *for* p. 307 *read* p. 30
111	31	*For Lokaprakāśa*[7] *read Lokaprakāśa*[6]
	Fn. 6	*For* vol. VIII *read* vol. XVIII
114	Fn. 2	*For Loc. cit. read Ibid.*
	Fn. 3	*For* p. 11 *read* ch. II, p. 14
115	Fn. 3	*For* p. 11 *read* ch. IV, p. 58
118	Fn. 2	*For loc. cit. read op. cit*
121	Fn. 1	*For Bāla-samuddeśaḥ read Bala-samuddeśaḥ*
122	Fn. 9	*Delete* VIII. 339
126	Fn. 4	*For* 248 *read* 249
128	Fn. 10	*For* VII. 292 *read* VIII. 292
130	Fn. 1	*For* VI. 132 *read* VI. 152
133	17	*For* son, *read* son, born of queen Raḍḍādevī,
136	3	*For āgneyaastra read āgneya-astra.*
145	Fn. 5	*Delete* 130
146	Fn. 1	*For JRASB read* JASB vol. IX, No. 5, N. S.; *add* the date of Zain-ul-Ābidīn is A.D. 1420-70.
147	Fn. 2	*For JRASB read JASB*
151	Fn. 2	*For balānam dhanāny- read bālānāṁ dhanānya-* and *for dharamśastrā- read dharmaśāstrā-*
161	5	*For* A.D. 1001-1149 *read* A.D. 1003
173	19	*For drārapati read dvārapati*
,,	Fn. 2, 4	*For* V. 5 *read* IV. 5; *add Rājat.*, VIII. 960
176	7	*For* of *read* after
178	14	*For pārṣad read parṣad*
179	Fn. 1	*For* 70 *read* 170

187	Fn. 15	*For* 599 *read* 959
188	8	*For* A.D. 1128 *read* A.D. 1121-28
190	8, 14	*For* Jayasiṁha *read* Sussala; for Hotadā *read* Holaḍā
193	27	*For* ruler *read* rulers
194	Fn.	*Add* at end of Fn. 1 : Reprint from the Sārdhaśatābdi Commemoration Volume, JASB, 1804-1954
195	Fn. I	*For loc. cit. read op. cit.*
198	Fn. 3, 4	*For Iiana read Jaina*; for Bk. III, vs. 28, 69 *read* Bk. II, v. 28, Bk. III, v. 69
200	Fn. 1	*For* V. *read* IV.
201	Fn. 4	*For* vol. I, p. 13 *read* vol. I, pp. 13, 53
202	31	*For* A.D. 853-939 *read* 855-939
,,	Fn. 4	*For* VIII *read* VII.
215	20	*For* minister *read* ministers
218	Fn. 2	*For* 432 *read* 472
221	28	*For sarvādhikārita read sarvādhikāritā*
222	8, 21	*For yamikaḥ read yāmikaḥ*; *for* women *read* woman
224	Fn. 4	*For infra* Chapter Five *read* p. 234
226	4	*For* Gonanda's queen, *read* Gonandīya queen,
228	Fn. 2	*For* 142 *read* 162.
243	21	*For* Yaśaskara's family *read* Diddā's family
251	10	*For* 69 *read* 63
252	Fn. 3	*For* Ray, H. C., *read* Ray, S. C.,
256	Fn. 3, 4	*For* Plate III. *read* Plate V.; *for* Plate V. *read* Plate III.
265	32	*For c.* 699-736 A.D. *read c.* A.D. 724/25-61
267	14, 17	*For* his *read* Rilhaṇa's; *for* he erected *read* was erected
268	31	*For* Rāmasvāmin *read* Raṇasvāmin
274	1	*For* A.D. 950-68 *read* A.D. 950-58
276	13	*For* T'ienh-si-tsai *read* T'ien-hsi-tsai
283	15, Fn. 1	*For* 'He I am.' *read* 'He I am.' ''[4]; *for śrutiścā read śrutiśca*

290	15	*For* cat who *read* cat and who
293	15, 32	*For* Sadardhavana *read* Ṣaḍarhadvana; *for* name *read* names
295	24	*For* this *read* His
296	11	*For idantaparamarśa read idantaparāmarśa*
298	16	*For Daśāvātāracarita read Daśāvatāracarita*
304	3, 16	*For* thought *read* though; *for* nearly about *read* for about
309	19, 20	*For* 3349 *read* 3449; *for* 5081 *read* 5181
313	32	*For* Gargacandra *read* Pañcacandra
320	Fn. 1–6	*For* ६ १ २ ३ ४ ५ *read* १ २ ३ ४ ५ ६
,,	Fn. 3	*For JRASB read JASB*
321	8, 31	*For* 618-910 *read* 618-907; *for* brothr– *read* brother–
324	25	*For* event *read* events
325	Fn. 1	*Before Heimskringla, add* Laing,
,,	Fn. 2	*For op. cit. read Ibid.*
330	Fn. 3	*For ḍāmarikotta read dāmarikatta*
332	Fn. 2	*For* p.351 *read* p.331
334	Fn. 4	*For* 125 *read 195*
336	16	*For* agriculturists *read* agricultural
338	7, 8	*For* Bombay *read* Allahabad; *for* 54, read 29,
340	32	*For* R. Shastri, *read* H. Shastri,
346	9	*For* Delhi, *read* Aligarh.
352	14, 28	*Delete.*
,,	30	*For* Art *read* Arts
356	col. 1, 29	*Delete* 37, 38, 67
360	col. 2, 12	*Delete* 5
362	col. 1, 37	*For* Jayasiṁha *read* Harṣa
363	col. 2, 14	*For* Kalahaṇa *read* Kalhaṇa
368	col. 1, last	Uaccala *read* Uccala
Plate VI, description 2		*For* Sarvasiddhipadha *read* Sarvasiddhipradha

Śiva and Pārvatī from Gandhāra

pradha

PLATE I

Śiva and Pārvatī from Gandhāra

PLATE II

(A) Pārvatī from Gandhāra

(B) Viṣṇu Image from Avantipur

PLATE III

(A) Buddha's Mother (tenth century)

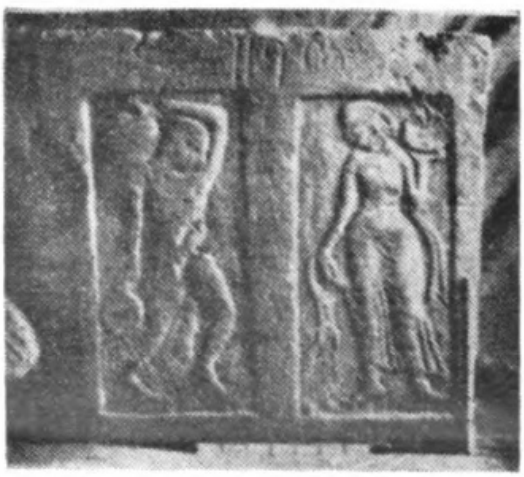
(B) Lakṣmī from Brār

PLATE IV

Memorial Stone, Baramula (Varāhamūla)

PLATE V

Terracotta tile, Harwan



Pompeian figures, Harwan

A danseuse, Harwan

PLATE VI

bindutrikoṇavasukoṇadaśārayugmamanvaśranāgadalasaṁyutaṣoḍaśāram, vrittatrayaṁ ca dharaṇīsadanatrayaṁ ca Śrīcakrametaduditaṁ paradevatāyāḥ.

ŚRĪ YANTRA

Description from the centre outwards taken from 'Tantrarāja Tantra' (front piece)

1. Central Point—Sarvānandamaya.
2. Central Triangle—Sarvasiddhipadha.
3. Eight Triangles—Sarvarogahara.
4. Ten Triangles—Sarvarakṣākara.
5. Ten Triangles—Sarvārthasādhaka.
6. Fourteen Triangles—Sarvasaubhāgyadāyaka.
7. Eight-petalled Lotus—Sarvasaṁkṣobaṇa.
8. Sixteen-petalled Lotus—Sarvāśāparipūraka.
9. The Surround—Trailokyamohana.

PLATE VII

Bāṇa Liṅga